

PAUSING MID-SENTENCE:
YOUNG OFFENDER PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR
LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION NEEDS

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Abstract

The study investigated participants' perceptions of their own language and communication; their interactions with peers in prison; and their experiences with professionals in the welfare and justice systems. The prevalence of language disorder in the sample was also established.

International research evidence has firmly established a high prevalence of language disorder in young offender populations. Less is known about young offenders' perspectives on their own language abilities.

The study recruited an opportunity sample of ten young men in custody at Polmont HMYOI who had recent experience of removal from association, or 'segregation'. The research investigated participants' language and communication abilities in order to inform future support and intervention. It focused on their communication with professionals and peers in justice, education and welfare settings.

Results of standardised language assessment indicated the presence of language disorder in 44% (n=4) of the sample (n=9). Informal justice vocabulary assessment results showed an unexpectedly high mean score of 85%.

Thematic analysis of interview data led to formulation of three main themes. These were categorised as: *Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning; Exerting Control; and Seeking Support*. The themes are discussed with reference to Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Model.

Participants offered reflective and rich views on their lived experience. They described their perspectives on: the antecedents of communication breakdown in prison; features of successful interaction with peers and authority figures; and a need for support in all justice environments, particularly in the court setting. Thus, this study makes a contribution to knowledge through adding to an emerging qualitative evidence base within Speech and Language Therapy.

*And their judges spoke with one dialect,
but the condemned spoke with many voices.
And the prisons were full of many voices,
but never the dialect of the judges.*

Tom Leonard, Scottish poet and writer (1944-2018)

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CHAPTER 1: *Introduction*

Debate around youth offending is often informed by how the “young offender” themselves is characterised. The nature of the young person as, variously, “depraved/deprived”, “vulnerable” “in need”, “at risk”, “marginalised” “in danger” or “dangerous”, for example, shapes the political and social discourse, and ultimately, the actions we take as a society to tackle what is undoubtedly a significant social problem.

Currently, youth justice in Scotland is predominantly informed by the Whole Systems Approach, which focuses on the individual and his or her environment as key drivers for change and reduction of re-offending. The individual and their needs are placed at the centre of this approach. In order for any planned intervention to be effective, therefore, a thorough understanding of each individual’s level of need is crucial.

Young people who offend often have a high degree of complex needs. They are commonly from highly disadvantaged backgrounds, and have led extremely challenging lives throughout childhood and into adolescence. They often live in areas with few amenities and have reduced access to educational services, healthcare and employment opportunities that could otherwise further their individual development.

In addition, young people who offend often have complex health needs, with trauma and adverse childhood experiences such as parental abuse and neglect common in their backgrounds. They have an increased likelihood of looked-after experience than their peers, and are at greater risk of mental health conditions. Substance misuse and other risk-taking behaviours are also common among this population.

Over the past 15-20 years, the high prevalence of a more “hidden disability” associated with unidentified and unmet speech, language and communication needs has also been identified in this population. The extent of speech, language and communication need (SLCN) within offending populations has received wider attention both in terms of establishing prevalence within groups involved with the justice system, and also investigating the nature and strength of the associations between SLCN and risk and background factors such as social disadvantage, social and emotional behavioural difficulties and use of violence.

Cohort studies have consistently indicated that between 60-90% of young people who offend have speech, language and communication needs (Bryan, 2004; Bryan et al, 2007; Gregory and Bryan, 2011). Language difficulties are a known risk factor for behavioural problems (Beitchman et al. 2001) and volatile peer relationships (Redmond and Rice, 1998). With involvement in youth justice services, demands on language ability increase as young people must use their language skills to give their “side of the story”, to justify decisions and interpret their own and others’ motivations (Lavigne and van Rybroek, 2014).

While most young people who offend are diverted away from further criminality, a smaller but significant group become involved in more persistent and serious offending, with some going on to receive custodial sentences. While in prison, some will be further involved in violence and transgression of prison rules, leading to their being removed from the main prison population and placed in a separate area of the prison with reduced social contact. This doctoral research study concentrates on this group.

If the SLCN of young people who offend remain unidentified and unmet, their opportunities to engage effectively with criminal justice processes are limited, thereby reducing their opportunities to access support and receive fair treatment. Over the last 15 years in the UK, the issue of the high prevalence of language disorder within the young offender population has gradually moved from the bounds of research literature into parliamentary and public discourse, most

significantly by the Bercow Report (2008) into Speech and Language Therapy (SLT) provision throughout England and Wales: specifically, Recommendation 28 (p. 11) within the report specified that the Government's Youth Crime Action Plan should actively address the SLCN of this population as a matter of urgency. In Scotland, the Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists has been instrumental in placing SLCN of young offenders on the political agenda (RCSLT, 2015b) with practising SLTs also scoping and reporting the extent of the profession's involvement with young offenders (Clark, Barrow and Hartley, 2011) in community and in prison.

Barrett et al. (2006) and Hartshorne et al. (2006) have pointed to the financial cost of youth offending in the UK and the savings that could be made by better targeting of services. Hartshorne (2006), referring to a report by the Audit Commission (1998) discusses the example of "James", whose unidentified and unmet SLCN incur costs at around £150,000 in terms of interventions and use of services by the age of 16, including two custodial terms in secure care. A saving of £111,444, according to the Commission, could be made by avoiding the "crime route". Meanwhile, Barrett et al. (2006) estimate around £1bn a year is spent on "processing and dealing with young offenders" (p. 541). The National Audit Office (2011) contended that each young offender on average costs the state £8,000 a year, taking into account the costs of police, courts, offender management teams and custody, with the most costly 10% requiring £29,000 per individual per year.

Speech and language therapy has been viewed as a cost effective service in terms of the public savings that may be made by involvement of young offenders with the service. "The net benefits of SLT – which can be defined in terms of cost savings for health and social care service, improved quality of life and productivity gains – exceed the costs of its provision" (Matrix Report, 2010, p. 6).

Heritage, Virag and McQuaig (2011) offer a cost analysis of an SLT service to a YOT in Derbyshire, and posit that the cost benefits of a dedicated SLT service are reflected in prevention of re-offending, reduction of custodial sentences, and reduced costs to mental health services. They offer a persuasive argument that the

12-month costs of an SLT service (£68,000 per year) could be offset by a reduction in 12-week sentences for four individuals or a single 12-month sentence which they estimate at £75,750 per year by earlier identification and management of SLCN.

There is some evidence that intervention with young offender groups is effective and can improve language assessment scores in the majority of cases (Gregory and Bryan, 2011), but studies into therapy and intervention approaches to improve young offenders' language and communication abilities are still a rarity within the evidence base. The main focus in the literature around these issues until recently has been on establishing level of need within the population and the nature of language and communication difficulties encountered by this population.

It is a key notion in Speech and Language Therapy practice that access to means of effective communication is fundamental to an individual's wellbeing; in addition, a holistic approach by professionals when considering the needs of that individual is an ethical requirement of practice (RCSLT, 2005). In the SLT research literature, however, while there has been much significant, valuable and necessary work on the establishment of prevalence of language disorder in the young offender population, far less is known about the personal perspectives of the young people who make up these participant cohorts and the extent to which they share the values of the professionals with which they come into contact, particularly regarding their views on the value they place on their own and others' language and communication. These young people's views on their language and communication abilities and a description of the value they place on effective communication is an essential component of their holistic profile, and in order for intervention – whether direct or indirect – to be appropriate and effective, the perspectives of the young people themselves must be taken into account.

1.1. Rationale for research

The high prevalence of language disorder within the young offender population both in community and in custodial settings is well established in the evidence base. Within the young offender population, there exists a sub-group of young men who experience temporary removal from the main prison population (“removal from association”) after infraction of prison rules or for their own safety; given the established prevalence in the research literature in young offender groups, these young men are especially likely to have heightened levels of communication support needs which may have contributed to violent behaviour (both towards peers and staff) and in turn, removal from the main prison group into separated accommodation within the prison.

This sub-group has been identified as a key priority by the Scottish Prison Service as part of their anti-violence strategy, which aims to support male young offenders in dealing with their frustration and anger as a contributory factor to violent behaviour.

As yet, the communication support needs of young men with experience of removal from association have not been reported in the research literature. This study will address that gap. Also missing from the research literature so far is a crucial point of triangulation – the views of the young men themselves about their own communication history, interactions and abilities. Research questions have been formulated primarily to provide this triangulated view of the young men’s communication levels and views on their own abilities and needs. This study also will investigate associations between these views and objective formal, standardized measures of their language abilities.

There is no evidence in the academic literature on the views of recently segregated incarcerated young male offenders of their communication skills. This study aims to investigate these issues within this sub-group with a view to offering a deeper, triangulated view of their needs, a rich descriptive account of the associations between language and behaviour in a prison setting, and insights into how views on

one's own and others' language and communication abilities, in the criminal justice context, contribute to violent and antisocial behaviours. The study aims to examine in more detail the views of the young men on their interactions with peers in community and prison settings, and also with authority figures they have met in a variety of developmentally influential settings – education, welfare and justice environments. The study then relates these findings to ways of enhancing future provision for speech and language therapy in the prison setting.

The participant group for this study is young men who have been recently accommodated within Dunedin Unit (the SRU – “Separation and Reintegration Unit”) of Polmont HMYOI up to two months prior to involvement in the study. They are placed within Dunedin Unit for one or more of three reasons: they are a considered to be a danger to themselves, a danger to others or are there for their own protection, under Rule 95, Prisons & Young Offenders Institutions (Scotland) Rules 2011.

This group of participants is of interest because they do not feature within the field research evidence to date, despite a possibility that they may be exhibiting a high level of need for communication support.

1.2. Aims and structure of the thesis

Aims of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is twofold:

- to provide a triangulated account of the nature of the language and communication abilities of incarcerated young men with recent experience of segregation at a young offender institution by means of:
 - standardized language assessment measures
 - informal vocabulary assessment measures
 - data obtained by semi-structured interview methods (see point B below)

- to provide, through thematic analysis of interview data, an account of the views of incarcerated young men with recent experience of segregation at a young offender institution, regarding:
 - their own language and communication abilities;
 - how important they think these abilities are to their effective navigation through the justice system;
 - their interactions with peers, and
 - their interactions with authority figures in the present, and historically.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters.

Chapter One provides a description of the wider research and policy context relevant to the study.

Chapter Two outlines the theoretical position adopted within the thesis, and findings on the prevalence and nature of language disorder in the youth offending population, before examining the handful of qualitative studies in this area examining the views of relevant participant groups about their language and communication skills. The chapter begins with an introduction to the theoretical model employed throughout the thesis: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory.

Chapter Three is a statement of the research questions for the study, including hypotheses.

Chapter Four lays out the study methodology. It describes the background to the study, and offers justification for the choice of assessments administered for the quantitative portion of the study and choice of semi-structured interview questions

for the qualitative section of the study. The chapter then goes on to discuss data collection and the issues surrounding recruitment, the process of gaining ethical permissions and approvals, gaining and maintaining access, and the experience for the researcher of the data collection process itself within the prison.

Chapter Five discusses the thematic analysis approach utilised in the study, outlining the process of analysis used in order to formulate the three main themes of the qualitative strand of the study.

Chapter Six presents findings of the quantitative CELF-4 Core Language Scores data strand and of the informal vocabulary assessment.

Chapter Seven presents findings of the qualitative semi-structured interview data strand and presents the three main themes derived from the analysis.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis, with a restatement of research questions and discussion of the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study in relation to the current evidence base. A discussion of the findings in terms of the theoretical base of the study and an integration of research findings is included within this chapter. Reflections on both the study's methodological challenges and the researcher's personal and professional challenges are also provided. Following this, a discussion of the study's unique contribution to knowledge and its implications for SLT and criminal justice professional practice are discussed. A concluding section summarises the main findings of the study.

The remainder of this chapter provides an overview of youth offending in a Scottish context and a description of relevant criminal justice processes and terms discussed in the thesis.

1.3. Context: Youth offending in Scotland

Scotland's decision-making infrastructure for dealing with youth offending is shaped by its own legal and welfare systems which differ to those in the rest of the UK. The following sections discuss the main institutional bodies.

1.3.1. The Children's Hearings System

Since the publication of the Kilbrandon Report (1964) (Scottish Office, 1995) and subsequent statutory framework laid out in the Social Work Scotland Act (1968), Scotland's approach to youth justice – and to young people and children considered at risk – has been more consistent than its counterparts in the rest of the UK. Following concerns in the late 1950s that the needs of at-risk children and young people were not being sufficiently met by the current courts system, a committee was set up in 1960, headed by Lord Kilbrandon, to investigate what, if any, adaptations could be made. The committee concluded that young people coming before the courts – whether they had committed offences or not – had similar and common needs. In his report, Lord Kilbrandon expressed concern at the number of children coming to courts on offence grounds and the ways in which their cases were disposed of, describing it as a basic failure of the authorities to provide them with a "social education" (p. 9). These "children in trouble" (Scottish Office, 1995) required, according to the report, a more consistent and welfare-based approach; whether they came to the attention of the authorities due to a requirement for care and protection, were truanting from school, displaying "delinquent" behaviour or were "beyond parental control" (p. 6), it was the responsibility of society to meet these needs in a way that improved the life of the child. The Kilbrandon Report proposed a nationwide system to replace that which had been previously provided solely by the courts: a system which separated welfare and justice processes in order to more readily meet the individual needs of the children that came to it.

While the courts would still take the primary role of the establishment of disputed facts in any particular case, the decision-making process regarding the welfare needs of the child would be taken by a new institutional body – the Children’s Hearings System (CHS). The CHS had primary responsibility for the welfare of children under 16, and in some cases, up to 18 years of age.

This system and approach has been maintained for almost 50 years, with number of material changes in the interim: it was incorporated as law firstly as part of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995, and subsequently the Children’s Hearings (Scotland) Act (2014). The dual system has received support from government in the intervening period irrespective of political party with Act of 1968 passed by the Labour Party, the 1995 Act by the Conservative Party, and the 2011 Act by the Scottish National Party: “the philosophy underpinning the system has proved remarkably robust” (Norrie, 2013, para 1-03).

In keeping with the Kilbrandon Report’s recommendations, the CHS ethos is to place the child’s needs and views at the centre of the decision-making process, within what is intended to be a fully participatory, transparent procedure (Kilbrandon, 1964). The focal means of decision-making is the hearing, in which a trained panel of three adult members of the community of any age or gender make decisions about a child’s care, protection and supervision needs based on available background information, with a limited number of decisions at their disposal, including the placing of a child under a Compulsory Supervision Order: this in turn places an onus on the local authority or “corporate parent” to provide the services required to meet the needs of that child or young person according to conditions detailed by the hearing on advice from the local authority social work department. The hearing is arranged by the Children’s Reporter, who is also the first point of contact for referral into the system as part of the Scottish Children’s Reporter Administration, which began operation in 1996 and has a number of responsibilities, including: facilitating Reporters’ work; providing the location and

facilities for children's hearings to take place; enabling participation of children and families in hearings.

However, being outside the Children's Hearings System has adverse effects for some at-risk young people. The Children's Hearings System, after all, is not a court of law; it is not within its remit to place a young person in custody, but the Compulsory Supervision Order may act as a protective measure against this eventuality. If a 16/17-year old has committed offence(s) of sufficient seriousness and not been placed on a Compulsory Supervision Order as a result of a hearing, they may be placed in custody through the adult criminal justice system if a Sheriff chooses to adopt this route instead of remitting to the CHS for advice. Encouragingly, the last decade has seen a highly significant fall in both the number of 16-17 year olds undergoing criminal proceedings (9,666 in 2006-7, down to 2229 in 2014-15) and in custody (900 in 2006-7 to 171 in 2014-15) (Scottish Government, 2016).

One of the main reasons for this fall in numbers of 16-17 year olds undergoing criminal proceedings is the adoption and implementation of the Whole Systems Approach philosophy. It has been used increasingly to deal with young people committing offences between the ages of 8 and 17. After a pilot in 2010, it was rolled out in 2011 throughout Scotland as a means of streaming young people and children away from adult court and the Children's Hearings System. Other multiagency methods include the Early and Effective Intervention (EEI), a holistic approach predominantly used by police as a means of dealing with children committing low-level crimes such as breach of the peace or criminal damage that previously would have been referred to the Children's Reporter. Supports are put in place for the child with the aim of immediately reducing the risk of reoffending. Children and young people undergoing EEI are encouraged to take responsibility for their actions according to their comprehension and developmental level.

1.4. The Scottish Criminal Justice System and Prisons

This section consists of a brief discussion of the Scottish prison estate during the time of data collection, before focusing in on the institution where the study took place, Polmont HMYOI. Relevant issues surrounding the use and limits of “segregation” as a practice are then discussed before ending with an overview of healthcare provision in Scottish Prisons.

1.4.1. Scotland: the prison estate

Scotland’s justice estate consists of 15 prisons, 13 of which are under public management by the Scottish Prison Service (SPS). The remaining two prisons – Her Majesty’s Prison (HMP) Addiewell and HMP Kilmarnock – are operated under private management contracts but still remain part of the SPS estate. The majority hold adult male prisoners aged 21 and over, who may be on remand or sentenced. Generally, people aged 16-20 inclusive are held at Young Offender Institutions (YOIs), whether on remand or serving a custodial sentence. Three prisons have YOI status in Scotland: Cornton Vale, Polmont, and Grampian. Of these, only Polmont exclusively houses young people; both Cornton Vale and Grampian accommodate some young offenders in wings of their larger adult prison unit. Article 37I of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) states that children under the age of 18 must be detained separately from the adult population due to their level and nature of need and stage of development, unless there is a risk to their safety. In addition, young people on remand should be placed separately from those young people who have been sentenced; the presumption of innocence remains until any proof of guilt (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2009).

Cornton Vale is Scotland’s only women’s prison; in 2015-16 (at the closest point of data collection for this study), it housed an average daily population of 15 young women, and a maximum of 23. Cornton Vale contains a Mother and Baby Unit and

some young women may be housed here in order to use this facility; it also caters for women of all ages with complex mental health needs.

Grampian also has limited spaces for some young female offenders, but their share is even smaller, with a daily average of 4 young women housed in the same period, with a maximum of 8 (Scottish Government, 2017).

In the period 2015-16, Polmont housed an average daily population of 486 young men, with a maximum of 509 (Scottish Government, 2017).

Prisoners aged 16-20 may be categorised as short-term (with custodial sentences of less than four years), long-term (with sentences of more than four years) or life sentence (with indeterminate sentences – life sentence or orders for lifelong restriction). All 15 prisons – whether privately or publicly run – follow the Scotland Prison Rules (2011).

1.4.2. Polmont HMYOI

Her Majesty's Young Offender Institution Polmont (from here: HMYOI) is Scotland's main institution for male young offenders aged 16-21, accommodating both remand and sentenced prisoners; sentences may range from six months to life imprisonment with offenders moving to an adult prison at approximately age 21 to serve the remainder of their sentence. The average sentence length is 2-4 years.

The capacity of the prison is reported as 760 spaces. The prison is divided into a number of accommodation blocks: Iona, Munro, Dunedin (Separation and Reintegration Unit, from here *SRU*), Blair House, which as of summer 2016, houses all female prisoners, both new intake and at the time around 110 prisoners relocated from Cornton Vale HMP.

Iona Hall consists of three floors while Munro Hall consists of four floors. Each floor is dedicated to a separate category of prisoner, who may move between halls depending on current legal and institutional status.

Munro Hall consists of four floors with single and double cells:

- Munro 1: 92 spaces – housing short-term prisoners (up to four years); contains the Positive Futures Unit
- Munro 2: 94 spaces – housing offenders aged under 18
- Munro 3: 92 spaces – addiction support unit
- Munro 4: 91 spaces – providing additional support for vulnerable young offenders

Iona Hall is on three floors with single and double cells:

- Iona 1: 92 spaces – untried and remand prisoners
- Iona 2: 92 spaces – admissions of new prisoners
- Iona 3: 88 spaces – long-term prisoners (over four years)

Dunedin Unit – the SRU – consists of 14 separate single cells and accommodates prisoners placed there under Rule 95(1) of the Scottish Prison Rules 2011.

The most recent inspection report (January 2017) from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons for Scotland commends the institution on some of its practices regarding its SRU, which according to the authors has "clear potential to become an area of best practice" (p. 8) including: the formulation of plans by both Inclusion Officers and SRU Officers to manage integration of young men back to mainstream halls from the SRU; flexible and responsive staffing practices in order to allow young men to attend one-to-one work in the activities area, accompanied by Inclusion Officers; and general observation of constructive interactions between officers and young men in the Unit.

1.4.3. "Segregation" and removal from association

In this section, the terminology surrounding "segregation" and removal from the main prison group, reasons and duration of removal, the national and international

frameworks under which removal is permitted, and the psychological effects of segregation are discussed.

1.4.3.1. Definitions

A variety of terminology exists to describe prisoners who are removed from the main population by prison authorities, with clear differences apparent between popular usage and that of professionals working within the service.

The concept of the removal of individual prisoners from the main population is referred to by terms such as “solitary confinement”, “segregation”, and “seclusion”; the concept of “segregation” as a punishment for violent offences is a well-worn trope within the public mind not in part due to popular depictions in television such as the “SHU” in Netflix series *Orange is the New Black* or *Oz*. Social science research still commonly uses the terms “segregation”, and “solitary confinement” to describe the process of separation of individual prisoners from the main population for 24 hours or longer. Whereas human rights and legislative bodies in the main favour the term “solitary confinement” (UNHCR, 1953; Council of Europe, 2006), “segregation”, as discussed by Vasiliades (2005) can cover a number of different iterations and conceptions of the status of removal:

Segregation comes in a variety of forms: as standard operating procedure, as a protective measure arising from situational prison incidents, for punishment, and even to ensure mental stability. (pp. 73-74)

Within the Scottish prison environment and governing bodies, however, there have been attempts to supersede this with terminology deemed more reflective of rehabilitative approaches. Scottish Prison Service Rules (2011) use the term “removal from association” to describe this process; the unit at Polmont is referred to by name – Dunedin – or as the Separation and Reintegration Unit (SRU), in a possible effort to reflect the procedure surrounding and expectations of the prisoners who enter and leave it over the more common images. In prison records,

a prisoner's removal status is referred to as being on/under Rule 95, the relevant SPS Rule (Scottish Prison Service Rules, 2011).

The term "segregation" has been absent from HMIPS inspection reports and official SPS policy documentation since around 2013. The introduction of what has been referred to as a "rebranded" SRU (Scottish Government, 2012, p. 16) was piloted at Low Moss prison in West Lothian in 2012 and was subsequently established in all prisons in the SPS estate, with the intention that "within these units management and staff will interact consistently and positively with prisoners with a view to reintegrating the prisoner into mainstream circulation at the earliest possible opportunity" (Scottish Government, 2012, p. 16). SPS has been reported as correcting usage of the terms "solitary confinement" and "segregation" to describe being moved to the SRU in response to press stories in Scotland, to limited effect, however, in the subsequent headline (*"Inmate at one of Scotland's biggest prisons kept in solitary confinement for two years"*) or byline (*"The inmate, who the Scottish Prison Service aren't naming, was only just released back into the prison population in July, after two years in 'segregation'"*) (Scottish Daily Record, 28/8/16). Precision in terminology to reflect changes in policy and ethos is clearly valued by the Scottish Prison Service; where possible, the researcher will avoid the term "segregation" due to its generalized meaning (see Vasiliades (2005) above), and prefer to discuss "removal from association", "removal" and abbreviation "RFA" where describing such prisoners under SPS supervision. The Polmont unit will be referred to as either Dunedin or the SRU.

1.4.3.2. Reasons for removal

The reasons for removal from association are governed by Rule 95(1) of the Scottish Prison Rules (2011) as detailed below.

Rule 95 (1):

...the Governor may order in writing that a prisoner must be removed from association with other prisoners, either generally or to prevent participation in a prescribed activity or activities.

...An order (...) may only be made where the Governor is satisfied that removal from association is appropriate for one of the following purposes:

(a) maintaining good order or discipline;

(b) protecting the interests of any prisoner;

(c) ensuring the safety of other persons. (Scottish Prison Rules, 2011)

Removal for disciplinary reasons, as Shalev (2008) states, is “the most serious punishment that can be placed on prisoners” (p. 28).

1.4.3.3. Duration of removal from association

The Scottish Prison Rules (2011) outline the procedure for both the initial duration of removal and extension of removal if deemed necessary. Initially, upon order from the Governor, a period of removal from association can last a maximum of 72 hours; up to the 72 hour limit, the Governor can revoke the order and make amendments (i.e., add, vary or remove conditions) to “prescribed activities” in which the prisoner may participate. Prescribed activities include scheduled work, educational classes, counselling, exercise, recreational activity or attendance at religious services or to meet with the chaplaincy.

If after 72 hours an extension to the order is required, an application to the Scottish Ministers must be made. An extension of no more than one month can then be granted in addition to the original period; further month-long extensions require

further applications to the Ministers. The prisoner must also be informed of the extension in writing with reasons for the extension. (Rule 95 (9-13, 17)). This differs to the procedure in England where renewals, having made application to the Secretary of State, have a 14-day duration (Prison Rules, 1999, s45).

Rules and regulations regarding the duration and reasons for RFA are governed by United Nations and European Union regulations outlined below.

1.4.3.4. Legislation and Regulation: UN and European law

All laws, directives and standards relating to the operation of prisons and treatment of prisoners in all UK institutions are required to be compatible with international and regional laws and directives as set out by the United Nations and Council of Europe.

United Nations: The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) was made law in 1976, and is monitored, implemented and interpreted by the UN Human Rights Committee (UNHRC). Articles 7 and 10 of the ICCPR pertain to the treatment of prisoners and quality of prison conditions, with Article 7 stating that “No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”, and Article 10 proclaiming “All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.” (ICCPR, 1976).

The Nelson Mandela Rules (2015), formerly the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (1957), are now the primary framework of international detention standards to which all UN member states are expected to adhere. Of particular relevance here are Rules 43-46, which in turn deal with quality of confinement and precluded disciplinary actions (para 43), duration of confinement (para 44), reasons (para 45), and responsibilities of healthcare staff (para 46). Rule 43 states:

1. In no circumstances may restrictions or disciplinary sanctions amount to torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The following practices, in particular, shall be prohibited:

(a) Indefinite solitary confinement;

(b) Prolonged solitary confinement;

(c) Placement of a prisoner in a dark or constantly lit cell;

(d) Corporal punishment or the reduction of a prisoner's diet or drinking water;

(e) Collective punishment.

Rule 44 defines “solitary confinement” as a period of isolation for 22 hours or more a day “without meaningful human contact”. “Prolonged solitary confinement” is defined as a period longer than 15 consecutive days. Solitary confinement is to be used “in exceptional cases as a last resort, for as short a time as possible (Rule 45, para 1), and is explicitly prohibited “in the case of prisoners with mental or physical disabilities when their conditions would be exacerbated by such measures” (Rule 45, para 2).

European Union: The European Prison Rules (EPR)(2006), similarly to the UN’s Mandela Rules, are a non-legally binding framework for member states laying out the minimum standards expected for prison conditions, discipline, conduct and responsibilities of prison staff, and in the most recent version (2006) greater detail around the responsibilities of prison authorities regarding the health of prisoners. Starting with Rule 39 which states, “Prison authorities shall safeguard the health of all prisoners in their care”, expectations of minimum levels of personnel, organization of care of prisoners, and in particular, expectations surrounding mental health care are specified (Rule 47) (part III, EPR, 2006).

Prison conditions, and thus solitary confinement conditions, are also covered under Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) (1953), which stipulates that “No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”; torture and ill-treatment are prohibited absolutely by the ECHR.

1.4.3.5. Effects of Segregation

Prisoners removed from the main population may have complex and multiple needs, may be at risk of self-harm, be a risk to others, and may themselves be in a state of high distress at the separation itself or the events that led up to such measures being taken.

There is a longstanding wealth of evidence for the detrimental physiological and psychological effects of prolonged removal (Nitsche and Williams, 1913; Benjamin and Lux, 1977; Grassian and Friedman, 1986; Brodsky and Scogin, 1988; Haney, 1993, 2003; Scharff-Smith, 2004), with anxiety and nervousness, severe depression, insomnia, withdrawal and hypersensitivity cited as majority observed behaviours. Shalev (2008), describing what she terms a “remarkable consistency in research findings” (p. 10) outlines the range of factors that may affect a prisoner’s mental health: *individual*, such as pre-existing health conditions and personal background; *environmental* – institutional conditions and provisions; *regime* – time spent outwith a cell, duration of/quality of human interaction; and *context of isolation* – reasons for removal, whether punishment, protection, voluntary/non-voluntary removal, political or criminal. Shalev categorises the main reported psychological symptoms into:

- Anxiety
- Depression
- Anger
- Cognitive disturbances

- Perceptual distortions
- Paranoia and psychosis
- Self-harm and suicide.

Duration of removal also appears to be a key outcome variable: in his review of the main effects of solitary and supermax confinement in the United States, Haney (2003) points to duration as a crucial influence on psychiatric outcomes:

..there is not a single published study of solitary (...) confinement in which non-voluntary confinement lasting longer than 10 days, where participants were unable to terminate their isolation at will, (...) failed to result in negative psychological effects. (p. 132)

Suedfeld et al. (1982) note that the routines and conditions between accommodation in institutions are hugely varied, for example, opportunities for communication between cells, level of comfort, size of cells, range of facilities (showers, access to literature, recreational activities, visitor access, exercise) and interaction style of prison officers. In addition, as the authors point out, in order to measure the effects of RFA, prior attitudes and behaviours and personality should be considered. Interviews were carried out in five US and Canadian prisons with prisoners about their views on physical and psychological effects of RFA. The authors concluded that there was little evidence to support the notion that RFA was “universally or uniformly aversive or damaging to inmates” (p. 330). The authors stated that after an often difficult first 72 hours, prisoners might use the time to reflect in what was often a quieter environment than the normal prison accommodation. Main complaints centred on diet, humiliation by prison officers, “use of physical beatings”, and boredom as a result of lack of stimulation/exercise facilities; interviewees felt that a lower duration of RFA would be more effective in its aims of making positive changes to behaviours and attitudes. The authors also

found that the more experience of RFA (i.e. the more visits to the accommodation and/or greater duration of stay) a prisoner had, the more likely they were to rate more highly on objective measures of anxiety, inhibition, lack of self-insight, depression, submissiveness and hostility; since pre- and post- measurements of mental health were not administered, it is difficult to establish whether these observed behaviours are a result of the experience of solitary confinement itself or of the experiences prior to the period of confinement, or (most likely) a combination of such experiences.

A longitudinal study by Andersen et al. (2000) attempted to address this issue by investigation of the *incidence* of psychiatric disorders *developed in prison* between two groups of adult remand prisoners (age range 18-60 years): those placed in “solitary confinement” (n=133) and those who remained in the main body of the prison population (“non-solitary confinement” group, n=95). Repeated assessments of psychopathology and general health (anxiety/depression scales, General Health questionnaire) were carried out in the study period. Authors concluded that placement in solitary confinement was a significant contributory – and not necessarily singly causative – risk factor for development of non-psychotic psychiatric disorders (anxiety, depression, psychosomatic) with an incidence of 28%, compared to non-solitary confined imprisonment where incidence of new psychiatric disorders was at 15%, with the authors concluding that “normal” imprisonment may itself therefore cause an incidence of non-psychotic psychiatric disorder in 1 in 7 people. However, a crucial aspect of the experience of “confinement” – duration – is not described adequately in this study.

Broadly supporting these findings, a recent Prison Reform Trust report (2015) found a varied picture of estimates of mental health needs in segregated prisoners between different respondents, with institutional responses in particular varying greatly. Responses (n=66, prisons) ranged from 25% of institutions stating that no prisoners with mental health needs were segregated in their facilities, to around 20% indicating in their answers that mental health needs were present in the

majority of individuals segregated. When segregation unit officers (n=49) were questioned, over two-thirds (34) reported that in their view “most” or “the vast majority” of segregated prisoners had mental health needs. Conducting interviews with segregated prisoners (n=67), the authors found that 37% self-reported mental health issues, with some participants who answered “no” to this question nonetheless reporting particular symptoms indicative of an identifiable mental health need: Of the individuals interviewed, 33 reported three or more of the following symptoms: anger, anxiety, insomnia, depression, difficulty in concentration, and self-harm.

HM Prison Service Rules (1999) for prisons in England and Wales also refers to “removal from association” under either Rule 45 or Rule 55; however, the term “segregation” is still common in inspection reports and other policy documentation (...). The Prison Reform Trust (2000) refers to Rule 45 as “perhaps the most controversial of the English Prison Rules”, given that it is “an administrative action not intended as a punishment but often seen as such” (p. 93).

1.4.4. Access to healthcare staff under European Prison Rules

In the European Prison Rules, the expectation that prisoners have equity of access to these services as they would in the community is stipulated in rule 40.3, based on Principle 9 of the UN Basic Principles for the Treatment of Prisoners (1990): “Prisoners shall have access to the health services available in the country without discrimination on the grounds of their legal situation”. As such, in Scottish prisons, prisoners have rights to access to healthcare staff under rule 40.

1.4.4.1. Scottish Prisons and the National Health Service

Responsibility for provision of primary and community healthcare in Scottish prisons was transferred from the Scottish Prison Service to the National Health Service in

November 2011. The Public Health Advisory Board (PHAB) was established in 2007 to report on the viability of a move from the SPS to the NHS; their final report (2007) laid out a variety of compelling reasons for the transfer. The need for change as outlined by the PHAB audit was underpinned by recognition of the wide health inequalities still in existence between prisoners and the general population on a variety of key outcomes including mental health, addiction and dental problems. While the SPS was reported as providing to a high standard in “bread-and-butter” baseline primary care areas such as addictions and blood-borne viruses by the Board, mental health waiting times and staffing and communication of health promotions and general services to prisoners were emphasized as in need of improvement. The Board also stressed the importance of the change in Scottish prison demographics, where the number of older prisoners is increasing, with consequences for management of long-term illness and end-of-life care.

In addition, the clear health inequalities between Scottish prisoners and the general population meant that Scotland’s prisons were not yet aligned with international health standards – a situation that needed to be urgently addressed. The Moscow Declaration on Prison Health as part of Public Health (2003) placed prison health in a wider context, declaring that it “must be an integral part of the public health system of any country.”

Other areas of concern were the lack of joined-up services and community aftercare beyond the prison term, particularly in the key areas of mental health and addictions, but also in suicide prevention and work surrounding recidivism. This service model’s sustainability in the light of the changing needs and demographics of the prison population was also a key issue for the Board. From an SLT perspective, provision of SLT services in Scottish prisons was audited by Clark, Hartley and Barrow (2011), who found there was only one dedicated SLT in the prison setting in Scotland, employed for three days a week. To date, this level of provision has not changed.

In sum, the principal aim of the transfer was therefore to provide care and services for offenders equivalent to that for the general population in a “health-promoting prison”, from admission to liberation, with continued throughcare upon return to the community (Scottish Prison Service, 2002).

In May 2017, the Royal College of Nursing published a review of the transfer of prison healthcare to NHS Scotland (RCN, 2018), concluding that it was still difficult to provide evidence of the impact of the transfer on levels of health inequality and the health needs of people in prison, attributing this to “gaps in our understanding of people’s health needs and a lack of national reporting and quality outcomes data for prison health care” (RCN, 2017, p. 5); progress in access and provision to healthcare in prisons was concluded to be “slow” (ibid), with variation across health boards and prisons. This unclear picture of health provision in Scottish prisons to date finds parallels in the specific level of speech and language therapy provision. Clark et al. (2011) in their Scotland-wide audit of SLT services in prisons found that there is only one dedicated SLT in the prison setting in Scotland working three days a week. A new audit on SLT provision would be welcome to gain a clearer picture of current work in this area and the support currently being offered to imprisoned offenders across Scotland.

1.5. Summary statements

- The high prevalence of language disorder in young offender populations internationally has been firmly established within the evidence base in the last 10-15 years. While prevalence and the nature of these language disorders has been described extensively in the literature, more holistic profiles of offenders – holistic approaches being the goal within professional management of youth offending – are still a rarity within the evidence base. Speech and language therapy as a profession places a holistic, person –centred approach at the heart of practice.

- Scottish Youth Justice has been transformed by application of holistic methods such as Early and Effective Intervention as part of the Whole Systems Approach in an effort to reduce youth offending and divert young people away from criminal activity.
- Removal from association has been shown to have likely negative effects for the individual. There is a longstanding wealth of evidence for the detrimental physiological and psychological effects of prolonged removal with anxiety and nervousness, severe depression, insomnia, withdrawal and hypersensitivity cited as majority observed behaviours.
- It is still difficult to establish the current impact of healthcare provision in the Scottish prison system due lack of joined-up reporting and consistent outcome measurement. The most current investigation of SLT provision in Scottish prisons suggests that there is a very high degree of need for more speech and language therapists in order to provide the necessary identification of, and support for, the already evidenced high degree of speech, language and communication needs of this population.

CHAPTER 2: *Literature review*

2.1. Introduction

This thesis investigates the views of young men with recent experience of segregation while in prison about their own communication and language abilities, and offers a measure of their language abilities by use of formal and informal language assessment. This chapter will introduce Bronfenbrenner's biopsychosocial model as a theoretical framework for understanding the complex interdependence between the person and the environments in which they interact with others. The chapter will then review the literature on the risk and protective factors linked to youth offending before discussion of the evidence for language ability as a protective factor against youth offending.

The relatively limited empirical research on language abilities of young offenders is then critically reviewed, and their main results and themes summarised, which leads to the formation of the research questions posited towards the end of the chapter.

2.2. Bronfenbrenner and Ecological/Bioecological Systems Theories

Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory (BST) emphasises the active role the individual plays in their own development while interacting within and with these systems. The theory was originally conceptualised as the Ecological Systems Theory (EST) by Bronfenbrenner in the late 1970s (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) to account for the various competing and overlapping influences on child development, the framework in both incarnations has since been applied to a very wide variety of settings and groups across the lifespan. The chapter will begin with a discussion of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory and describe the subsequent modifications that led to the Bioecological Systems Theory.

Bronfenbrenner worked on further modification and refinement of the model until his death in 2005; for the purposes of this thesis, however, the two main formulations that occur most frequently in the research literature as outlined by Rosa and Tudge (2013) are examined.

Ecological/Biological Systems Theory allows the researcher to consider an individual's development in a wider societal context and the role of an individual's communication abilities to navigate their way through them. Bronfenbrenner describes *development* in what he himself called an "unorthodox" manner: how an individual acts to "discover, sustain or alter" their environment, considering their "evolving conception of the ecological environment and his/her relation to it" (1979, p. 9).

The researcher selected this model as a theoretical framework because it allows a systematic evaluation of the complex, evolving, multilayered and interconnected systems in which individuals and groups are embedded; given the predominantly qualitative nature of the research project, application of this model allows for an appreciation of the complexity of interactions described by participants. Systems within the model are placed at increasingly distal levels from the individual, who is situated at the centre; this has been described by Bronfenbrenner (1979) as a "set of nested structures, each inside the next like a set of Russian dolls" (p. 3) (see Figure 2.1). Each of the model's components is examined in turn below.

Individual: Bronfenbrenner places the individual in the centre of the model. The individual is characterised as a self-contained biological system. Genetic and biological factors influence the developmental course of the individual into adulthood. Biological, hereditary and genetic influences affect the individual's *lived experience* and their development within the four hierarchical systems in which they are embedded.

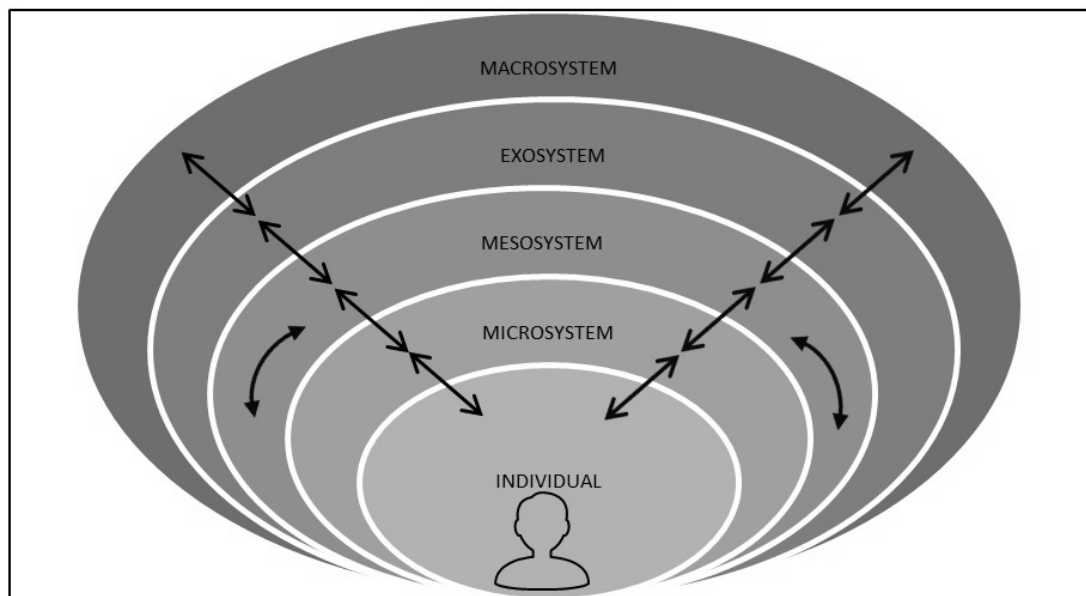


Figure 2.1: Systems in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Bioecological Systems Theory

Microsystem: The microsystem consists of the immediate settings and environments experienced by the developing individual in which they typically have direct, face-to-face contact with other individuals. Bronfenbrenner describes microsystems as “a pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social, and symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit, engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interaction with, and activity in, the immediate environment.” (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 1645). In the first few years of life, the microsystem will mainly consist of the home and family/carers. As the child develops, the number of institutions and individuals encountered increases. Commonly these institutions are characterized as nursery, primary school, secondary school, further education settings, and subsequently, workplaces. The peer relationships encountered and nurtured in these settings are conceptualized as intrinsic to the microsystem.

Mesosystem: At locations where multiple microsystems overlap, they exist within a *mesosystem*; within this level, microsystems have influences upon one another; Bronfenbrenner describes the mesosystem as “a system of microsystems”

(Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 25). The mesosystem is created or broadened when an individual enters a new environment. The classic example to illustrate this level of the model is the “parent-teacher conference” where the child’s home microsystem meets with that of the school. Other common examples illustrative of the mesosystem include interactions between the child’s peers and their parents (overlap of peer and home life microsystems) or working with a speech and language therapist visiting their school to provide intervention (overlap of healthcare and education microsystems).

Exosystem: This further distal level of the model is a further level of abstraction away from the individual, who does not actively participate within this system; in the exosystem layer of the model, structures such as institutional bodies, eg education systems or religious organisations, but also governing or administrative organisations have a direct influence on the microsystems in which the individual interacts by limiting and defining their scope and roles. Bronfenbrenner refers to this level as “the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives” (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 24). Intrinsic to this level is the concept that effects on the individual that emerge from the exosystem are *indirect*. By way of examples, policy decisions on provision of benefits to families, the content of the school teaching curriculum, transport policy in a given country or city are all formulated within the exosystem and have indirect effects on the development and potential for development of the individual.

Macrosystem: The macrosystem is the outermost layer of the Systems Model, describing the cultural and social norms, political systems, beliefs and values that underpin and influence the processes, and thus, development of the individual, in all of the other systems of the model. Bronfenbrenner’s definition of the macrosystem refers to “the overarching institutional patterns of the culture or subculture, such as the economic, social, educational, legal and political systems of

which the micro-, meso- and exo- systems are the concrete manifestations.” Rosa and Tudge (2013) characterise the macrosystem’s “hallmark” as “its overarching belief system or ideology” (p. 247, after Bronfenbrenner, 1979). They point out that “(a)s a result, the daily experiences of children in any given societal, socioeconomic, ethnic, or religious group tend to be similar” (p. 247); as an illustration of this prototypical experience, Bronfenbrenner gives the example of school classrooms, where one looks much like the other, as a result of the macrosystem “set(ing) the pattern for the structures and activities occurring at the concrete level” (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 513).

2.3. Ecological Systems Theory: Critique

The main strength of Bronfenbrenner’s EST is, paradoxically, also its most substantial limitation. The all-encompassing scope of the theory, which embraces every level of societal interaction, ranging from the individual up to the institutional and, beyond this, the cultural and political macro-level, in addition to development across time, may lead to a conclusion that in a framework where every interaction is valid and influential of development at every level, it is difficult to know where to apply a limit in order for the model to be truly applicable in a research context.

Secondly, the individual, placed centrally and embedded within the surrounding “systems” of the model appears to be conceptualised in this version of the model as a mostly passive participant in their own developmental course, where they are essentially *acted upon* by systems, despite being conceptually situated as central to the model.

In addition, a conceptual point: the “nested dolls” analogy, put forward by Bronfenbrenner himself (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 3), is not an adequate description of the model given that it is the overlap of microsystems that creates the mesosystem; this overlap and melding of systems is not reflected in the discrete “nested” components described by Bronfenbrenner.

2.4. Bioecological Systems Theory: “Person-Process-Context-Time”

The four-level Ecological Systems Model was reformulated to become a component of a broader Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1993) in order to greater highlight the dynamic nature of human development and the role of the individual in shaping their own developmental course. A significant change to the new model was the introduction of the passage of time as a key influence on individual human development. The four elements proposed in this model were viewed as *simultaneous* and *ongoing* influences on an individual’s developmental outcomes rather than *additive* or *accumulative*. These components were conceptualised as:

- Process
- Person
- Context
- Time

Each component is examined in turn below.

Process: While the “individual” is clearly situated in the centre of the earlier Ecological Systems model, this gives a sense that the nested systems surrounding the person act unidirectionally upon them rather than in a dialectical/dynamic way, where the individual has their own active role in their development. In the PPCT model, Bronfenbrenner reformulates this role, proposing that the main drivers for individual human development are *proximal processes*, defined as “enduring forms of interaction” (Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1993, p. 317). Bronfenbrenner proposed that these processes consisted of “progressively more complex reciprocal interaction between an active evolving biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate environment.” In order for them to be influential on human development these processes must “occur on a fairly regular basis over an extended period of time”. Bronfenbrenner later described

proximal processes as “the engines of development” (Bronfenbrenner and Evans, 2000, p. 118).

Person: Three characteristics of the Person component were described by Bronfenbrenner as influential on developmental outcomes – *force*, *resource* and *demand*:

- *force* (or *disposition*), which could be either generative (a personal characteristic that allows or promotes the influence of proximal processes, for example, a tendency for curiosity, being responsive to others; initiating activity with others; ability to defer gratification in favour of longer-term aims), or disruptive (hindering or interrupting proximal processes, for example, “impulsiveness, explosiveness, distractibility, inability to defer gratification, or, in a more extreme form, (readily) resort to aggression and violence” (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, p. 1009).
- *resource* properties influence the individual’s ability to engage with proximal processes, with “ability, knowledge skill and experience” (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 2006, p. 812) promoting such engagement, while “genetic defects, low birthweight, physical handicaps, severe and persistent illness or damage to brain function” (ibid) may interrupt or reduce capacity to do so.
- *demand* characteristics are the perceived qualities of the individual *by others* within the individual’s social environment; these can then have a knock-on effect on whether opportunities for proximal processes to influence development are offered, or established. Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006) gave examples such as physical attractiveness/unattractiveness, hyperactivity/passivity, and type of temperament. Other personal identity markers such as perceived sexuality, age, skin colour or perceived gender may be regarded as demand characteristics that could affect access to proximal processes.

Context: Essentially, the four nested systems of the earlier Ecological Systems Model (micro-, meso-, exo- and macro-) were reformulated as the Context

component of the PPCT developmental framework. Proximal processes (the “engines of development” as described above) were conceptualised as taking place within the interpersonal microsystems level of the Context component of the model.

Time: Adding to his concept of the chronosystem from the earlier model, Bronfenbrenner developed his theory to add further components in order to reflect the developmental significance of the passage of time. The *Time* component was conceptualised as comprising three levels: *microtime*, *mesotime* and *macrotime*. *Microtime* was defined as “continuity versus discontinuity in ongoing episodes of proximal process” (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998, p. 995), i.e. the specific episodes experienced by the individual – what Tudge et al. (2009) refer to as “what is occurring during the course of some specific activity or interaction” (p. 201); *mesotime* referred to the frequency of these proximal process episodes over longer periods, for example weeks and months; *macrotime* “focuses on the changing expectations and events in the larger society, both within and across generations” (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 2006, p. 796). Macrotime was conceptualised as essentially the same as the chronosystem from the earlier model.

By reformulating the Ecological Systems Model into the Bioecological Systems Theory, Bronfenbrenner and his co-authors further describe the complex, dynamic and dialectical relationship between individuals and the social environment. Each individual is conceptualised as having their own personal, genetic, biological and psychological characteristics (“**Person**”) and personal developmental history with its significant events such as death of a parent or starting school (“**Time**”). The social environment, which comprises the nested systems (“**Context**”) may limit or promote access to the “engines” of human development, proximal processes (“**Process**”).

2.4.1. Applying Bioecological Systems Theory

The above theoretical framework was chosen by the researcher because it affords an opportunity for a holistic approach to be taken by application of a multi-level model to investigate individuals' views about the extensive range of social interactions they experience when involved in the criminal justice system. Applying this framework to an investigation of the views of young men within the criminal justice system around their interactions with others and own abilities provides the researcher with an opportunity to examine the experience of a group of individuals who regularly interact with a variety of institutions (at the micro- and meso- levels) but whose own views and attitudes about those interactions (most commonly at the individual, micro- and meso- levels) is not well documented in the literature.

Application of the model provides opportunities to consider the asymmetric power relationships that characterise the interactions between the individual young person and criminal justice staff. These interactions occur in a wide array of differing criminal justice microsystems: prison, court, police station and Children's Hearing room, to name a few; in addition, other microsystems to which the participant does not currently have access, for example, family, or peers in community may also be considered and discussed. This model can provide a framework in which to examine: the individual's views about their own language and communication abilities **(Person)** and significant past events (for example in school, offence history, previous involvement with justice institutions, looked-after experience) **(Time)**, and how they view their interactions with others at the same or at differing levels of the model (for example, differences in interactions with peers in the community compared to those in prison; interactions with those who work in external criminal justice settings, or with those within the differing microsystems within the prison) **(Context)**. It also aids the researcher in gaining views on the ways in which the prison as an institution and its staff attempt to alter the individual's developmental course with positive aims by means of educational training, work parties and offering opportunities to gain academic qualifications (*generative*

proximal processes) and to discuss factors that lead to more negative outcomes (*disruptive proximal processes*) (**Process**).

The microsystemic interactions in a single setting, for example the prison, may be further broken down into peer/peer interactions in cells, or in halls; peer/staff interactions in the healthcare unit, in halls or in teaching rooms or work parties. The model provides a means for participants to reflect on they themselves have developed over time: while some interactions are recent and interconnected, occurring within the criminal justice system, police settings, court, prison, others are historical, e.g. an individual's educational and/or looked-after experiences.

2.5. Literature review: Introduction

The evidence base examining the prevalence and nature of offenders' language and communication difficulties encompasses a wide variety of offender subgroups and demographics (male and female; in community and in prison settings; youth and adult offenders) and has examined a variety of dimensions of language and communication abilities. The majority of studies in this area have utilised quantitative research methods – and in particular, standardised assessments – to investigate questions of prevalence and nature of communication and language difficulties in this population.

The review is in two main sections. Firstly, studies utilising quantitative methods of investigation of SLCN of offenders are discussed, taking into account historical context, differences in setting and the variety of participant subgroups. Following this, the review examines in detail the small number of studies that have investigated SLCN of offenders by mixed method and qualitative means primarily through focus group and interview methods. The review concludes with a summary of the main findings of the qualitative studies in this area before a discussion of the ways in which this literature has informed the formation of the current study's research questions.

2.6. Quantitative approaches: language and communication abilities of young offenders

It has been around 50 years since the first articles describing prevalence and nature of SLCN in the majority of the young offender population; prior to this, much of the literature examining the language and communication abilities of offenders often focused on hearing impairment as the main communication difficulty in incarcerated offending and psychiatric populations (Springer, 1938; Kodman, 1958; Lamb and Graham, 1962).

Cozad and Rousey (1966) investigated “hearing and speech disorders” in a group of “delinquent boys and girls” by administration of hearing tests (n=300) and speech assessment (n=252); 29.2% of boys and 12.5% of girls were found to have a hearing impairment; 58% of the speech assessment group showed “some speech disorder”, evenly distributed between genders.

The US-based Task Force on Speech Pathology and Audiology Service Needs in Prison (ASHA, 1973) concluded from its literature review that “the high percentages of reading, writing, speech, and hearing problems found among prison inmates make it likely that specific language disabilities do exist to a high degree in this population” (p. 11). Furthermore, “..despite differences in methodology among studies reported (...) the incidence of speech, hearing, and language disorders is significantly greater for juvenile delinquents and adult prison inmates than in the general population” (p. 12). Interestingly, the association concluded that only around 10-15% of the prison population had sufficiently severe impairments to be eligible for SLP provision.

A study by Taylor (1969), later replicated by Irwin (1977), examining “communication disorders” in 119 young male offenders incorporating a language assessment battery found a prevalence of 84%, 95% of which had language difficulties; Irwin’s study found a prevalence of 68% for communication disorder, with 57% having language difficulties and 6% an articulation disorder. Falconer and

Cochran (1989) (n=53, young male offenders) found a prevalence of language disorder at 83%.

In a summary, Davis et al. (1991) point out that a variety of language assessments have been used in these studies with little or no attempts at assessing informal language abilities through, for example, language sampling. Their study found that mean scores of “delinquent” youth on TOAL-2 fell more than one standard deviation below the mean in comparison to “non-delinquent” youths, whose performance was within normal limits; in addition, the delinquent group scored significantly more poorly on a range of standard academic reading, mathematics and language measures.

The majority of the evidence has examined young men’s speech, language and communication skills, and mostly provided prevalence statistics. The last 20 or so years have seen expansion not only into other more diverse sub-groups of offenders but also closer examination of the types of language and communication difficulties they experience. Quantitative approaches to research involving young offenders in the community are firstly examined, followed by those with incarcerated populations.

Anderson et al. (2016) carried out a systematic review of the literature examining current evidence on the language skills of this population in structural, pragmatic, receptive and expressive abilities. The scope of the review was restricted to three questions:

- a) How strong is the association between language disorder and youth offending?
- b) Are some language skills more impaired than others in youth offender populations?
- c) What biopsychosocial factors have been shown to influence the relationship between language disorders and youth offending?

Inclusion criteria for the review were: English language articles detailing either a cross-sectional or longitudinal study design for young people aged 10-21 years; description of assessment of more than one language domain by standardised or control group comparison measures, with offending having been assessed by contact with the justice system; discussion of associations between language abilities and youth offending behaviour.

Sixteen studies met the review criteria; all had been conducted either in Australia, the US or UK. In answer to their research questions, the authors concluded that there was a strong association between youth offending and presence of language disorder, with young offenders performing worse in both peer-matched and standardised population comparison studies. All of the research that met the review criteria was cross-sectional, which as the authors state, limits description of the relationship between offending and language skills beyond association and precludes firmer conclusions regarding causation or correlation.

2.6.1. Use of standardised formal assessment methods

The current research picture of the language abilities of young male offenders is both extensive and consistent in broadly describing a group with a significantly higher risk than that in the general population of experiencing difficulties in the structural and pragmatic dimensions of receptive and expressive language.

This consistent view of language difficulties has been formed primarily over the past five decades by means of administration and interpretation of standardised language assessments, and by the clinical experiences of speech and language therapists in this field (ASHA, 1973; Davis, 1991; Sanger et al, 2004; Snow and Powell, 2004, 2008). In this section research evidence findings from use of standardised language assessment with this population are discussed.

Studies may be broadly categorised according to two main approaches: a) a comparison measure of language abilities between the offending group and a

matched non-offender group; b) comparison with standardized age-equivalent scores.

Firstly, studies according to these categories will be outlined before a discussion of their relative strengths and weaknesses in providing us with a picture of the language abilities of young male offenders.

2.6.1.1. Use of standardised assessment: Comparison with matched non-offending peers

Davis et al. (1991) compared language abilities of age and NVIQ matched “delinquent” (n=24, M=16.6y) and “non-delinquent” males (n=24, M=16.6y) using language sample analysis and Test of Adolescent Language (TOAL-2)(Hammill, Brown, Larsen, and Wiederholt, 1987) subtests. The language sample was analysed with a modified Clinical Discourse Analysis. Results showed that the offending group performed at a lower level than the control group on all standardized and informal measures. Using a standard 1.5SD discrepancy measure for TOAL-2 for both groups, the authors concluded that 4% (1/24) of “non-delinquents” and 38% (9/24) of “delinquents” in the study qualified for SLT services; none of the second group had been identified as such previously.

Blanton (2003) and subsequently, Blanton and Deganaïs (2007) attempted to determine similarities or differences in cognitive and linguistic skills between groups of male and female adolescents who have been “adjudicated” (i.e. convicted and residing in a correctional facility) and “non-adjudicated” (non-convicted controls) (n=18, both male groups – M=15.0 “adjudicated” and M=14.7 “non-adjudicated”); n=14, both female groups – M=15.4 “adjudicated” and M=15.3 “non-adjudicated”). Language and cognitive abilities were assessed using the Kaufman Brief Intelligence Test (KBIT) (Kaufman and Kaufman, 1990) and six Core Language subtests from CELF-3. Interestingly, findings indicated that there was no significant difference in CELF-3 performance for gender, but all non-adjudicated participants scored lower

than their adjudicated peers in the language assessment, supporting the authors' hypothesis that the former group would have more language deficits than the latter.

Humber and Snow (2001) compared performance by age-matched offenders (n=15, M=16.5y) and non-offenders (n=15, M=16.4y) on two standardized language assessments: Speed and Capacity of Language-Processing test (SCOLP; Baddeley, Emslie and Smith, 1992) and Test of Language Competence - Expanded Version (TLC-E; Wiig & Secord, 1989). Processing speed of verbal stimuli and semantic/pragmatic skills were measured respectively. In addition, participants carried out an informal picture-based narrative discourse task, "The Flowerpot Incident", where the production accuracy of logically sequenced narrative elements is measured. Significant differences were found in performance between the groups, with the offender group displaying difficulties with comprehension speed and accuracy, decoding abstract and figurative language, logically sequencing a narrative and including all story grammar elements. Large effect sizes (.96 – 1.72) were apparent for each measure. Again, none of the offender group was receiving language intervention. The same measures were used by Snow and Powell (2004, 2005) in comparing performance of a group of young offenders in regional units, serving community-based orders (n=30, M=16.5) with age-matched peers (n=50, M=14.5) from local high schools. The offender group performed more poorly than their age-matched peers on all but one of the language measures; as the authors point out, this is all the more concerning as this performance was poorer than demographically similar participants who were two years younger than them.

Significantly expanding on the inventory of measures used previously, Snow and Powell (2008) compared language skills, social skills and NVIQ of offenders (n=50, M=15.8y) with those of age-matched controls from local high schools (n=50, M=14.9). Snow and Powell used two subtests from the TLC-E (Test 1 – ambiguous sentences, and Test 4 - figurative language) and the Recalling Sentences subtest of the CELF-3 in addition to the previous narrative Flowerpot Story task. Also, a social

skills measure, the IAP-SF (Inventory of Adolescent Problems – Short Form) (Gibbs et al., 1995) and a NVIQ screen (Kaufman brief intelligence test) (Kaufman and Kaufman, 1990) were administered. On the language and social skill measures, the offenders performed significantly worse than the control group; no significant difference was found in NVIQ measures, supporting the authors' hypothesis that the differences in social and language skills between the groups could not be explained by IQ differences. Offenders with a score of 1.0SD below the control group's mean on the language assessment were defined as a "language impaired" (LI) subgroup by the authors. 52% of the offender group were classified as having LI by these measures. Analysis of performance of the LI subgroup during the Flowerpot Story task showed significant differences to the non-LI offender group. Using Stein and Glenn's (1979) model of narrative elements, i.e. *a setting, an initiating event, an internal response, a plan of action, an attempt at action, protagonist reaction*, the authors found that the *setting, plan* and *attempt* elements of the narrative were inadequately described by participants, and total syllables produced during the task reduced in comparison.

2.6.1.2. Use of standardised assessment: Comparison with standardised age equivalent measures

Myers and Mutch (1992) assessed language abilities in "homicidal youths" (n=8), ranging from 7;9-17;8y, by administration of six subtests from Clinical Evaluation of Language Fundamentals (Revised Edition) (Semel, Wiig and Secord, 1987) and Test of Language Competence (Expanded) (TLC-E) (Wiig and Secord, 1989), which was administered to seven participants. In addition, an informal test of receptive vocabulary was administered. The authors also elicited a samples of spontaneous speech and written language. Findings indicated that all eight subjects "had a language disorder", ranging from mild to severe. All participants performed significantly below chronological age on the CELF-R battery, in particular on the Formulated Sentences subtest where z scores ranged from -1.33 to -2.33. On the

TLC-E, five of seven participants performed poorly with z scores at or below -0.67 for all four subtests. Myers and Mutch concluded that the presence of these difficulties raise questions around the participants' competency to stand trial, understand Miranda rights (i.e. notification of a suspect of their right to silence by police at point of arrest), and more generally, participate effectively in the judicial process.

Bryan (2004) carried out a survey at a YOI, assessing 10% of the population there (n=30; M=19.5y) with a variety of assessments: standardized tests used were the Boston Naming Test (Kaplan, Goodglass and Weintraub, 1983), and two subtests from the Fullerton Language Test for Adolescents (Thorun, 1986) (grammatical competence and spoken word comprehension). Informal assessment included Hospital Speech and Language Rating Scales to elicit a speech sample, picture description and voice, articulation and fluency ratings. The Polmont Interview was also used to gain a self-reported account of the participant's awareness of any difficulties; finally, an informal comprehension test in which the participant is required to follow simple instructions was administered. Findings of the study were: self-reported difficulties were relatively common, with difficulties in hearing (17% of participants), literacy (37%) and memory (50%) raised by participants. On standardised results, 43% of participants scored below age norms on the Boston Naming Test; on the FLTA, 73% scored below age norms for grammatical competency and 23% below the age norms for spoken word comprehension, which Bryan remarks are around the expected level for an 11-year-old. In the picture description task, around half (47%) were identified as having more than one rating of moderate impairment. 23% of participants (7/30) were noted to have low scores on all assessments; four of this seven reported they had learning difficulties and had attended special schools.

Bryan, Freer and Furlong (2007), administered subtests from the Test of Adolescent Language – 3rd edition (TOAL-3) (Hammill et al, 1994), British Picture Vocabulary Scale- 2nd edition (BPVS-2) (Dunn et al, 1997) and Test of Reception of Grammar –

2nd edition (TROG-2) (Bishop, 2003) to a randomly selected sample of incarcerated young male offenders (n=58; M=19y) report that 66-90% had “below average language skills”, with 46-67% of the group appearing the “poor” or “very poor” skill category. While most performed above the 12-year threshold on the TROG-2 (49/53 participants), BPVS-2 results indicated that none reached chronological age equivalence (M=11.5y).

2.6.1.3. Community-based population samples

In addition to investigation of language and communication abilities of incarcerated populations, a variety of studies have been carried out with population samples from service users of Youth Offending Services in community. To date no published community studies have been published in Scotland into language and communication abilities, with all available UK-based studies being based in England. Given the proportion of young people moving between youth offending teams in community and prison, studies into the prevalence of SLCN in young people involved with community youth offending teams is highly relevant. While there was a small burst of research activity in England and Wales into youth offending teams and SLCN around 10 years ago, the recent research evidence in this area is very sparse, possibly due to reduced resources and staffing capacity over the last decade. A summary of the main studies in this period demonstrates a high degree of commonality between findings.

In Bradford Youth Offending Team (YOT), Crew and Ellis (2008) found that a significantly high proportion of young people receiving services (n=19, mean age, 15;2), 74%, performed below average range on a battery of standardised language assessments (BPVS-2; ERRNI – Expression, Reception and Recall of Narrative Instrument (Bishop, 2004); TOAL-4 (Test of Adolescent Language, 4th Edition (Hammill et al, 2007); CELF-4 – Clinical Evaluation of Language Fundamentals, 4th Edition (Semel, Wiig and Secord, 2004). 16% were categorised as having a mild difficulty, 16% as moderate and 42% (n=8) had severe communication difficulties. In

addition, Crew and Ellis carried out a brief informal vocabulary assessment with four participants, who were asked to provide verbal definitions of 37 commonly used justice terms such as “breach” and “offence”. Results showed that that one participant could recognise and explain seven of the 37 terms presented, with all participants providing incorrect definitions, despite showing recognition of terms. Target terms for this assessment are discussed further in

Lanz (2009), targeting the NEET population (Not in Education, Employment or Training) (n=8) within Milton Keynes YOT group, found that 100% presented with SLCN (50% - mild SLCN, 50% - severe SLCN). When a larger sample was taken within the same YOT (n=24, mean age, 15;3, NEET and non-NEET categories), 88% were found to have a degree of SLCN, with 54% assessed as having a severe communication difficulty. A selection bias was present in this study as inclusion of participants was based on an initial consideration by the YOT that they had a degree of communication difficulty. While this does demonstrate that young people receiving services from this team had SLCN, the total number of those receiving services from the YOT is, however, not detailed.

Exeter and East/Mid-Devon YOT (Brooks, 2011) took part in a battery of assessment of 32 young people using their services. It was concluded that 100% of those assessed had SLCN, with 91% of 31 young people screened also presenting with “high risk of SLCN” (p. 31). 31 of the 32 participants presented with at least one standardized language score in the “severe” category.

Gregory and Bryan (2011) screened 72 entrants to ISSP (Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme) in Leeds, and subsequently assessed them using standardized measures (mean age, 15;4), before intervention from SLT and YOT staff. A high degree of SLCN was identified in this group, with 66% requiring intervention. 45% had a comprehension delay. 20% were assessed as belonging to the “severe” category of need.

Burrows and Yiga (2012), working with young people from Ealing and Hammersmith Fulham YOTs, established that 88% had a degree of SLCN.

Games, Curran and Porter (2012) assessed young clients of a Youth Offending Service (n=11; 9 males, 2 females; M=14;4.5) using the CELF-4 language battery (Semel, Wiig and Secord, 2004), on measures of Core Language, Receptive and Expressive Language, Language and Memory, and Language Content. In addition, around half of the sample were also assessed on the UK Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children – 4th edition (WISC-IV UK) (Wechsler, 2003) or results were already available. Findings were that about 90% of participants had some of language difficulty (36.4% - severe (n=4); 27.3% - moderate (n=3); 27.3% mild (n=3)); one participant did not display language difficulties. In the Verbal Comprehension Index of the WISC-IV, 60% of the included participants had a discrepancy between this index score and their CELF-4 score, with the latter 1SD lower than their VCI score.

2.6.1.4. Longitudinal studies

Few longitudinal studies exist with this participant group in this field. Mouridsen and Hauschild (2009) examined risks of offending by individuals with developmental language disorders (language disorder). The authors compared 469 participants (M=37.5y) with a prior diagnosis of language disorder with 2,345 general population controls without a history of language disorder; the authors matched each participant with five control children by day of birth, country of birth and gender. Prevalence and type of offending were compared between the two groups across a mean time period of 22.5 years, using the Danish Register of Criminality (DRC). Their findings show that people with a prior language disorder diagnosis were in general, by their mid-thirties, not more likely to have a criminal conviction than members of the general population, except for one group – males with language disorder had a statistically significant number of sexual offence convictions than those in the general population; all males in this comparatively small group (n=9) had been diagnosed with severe expressive language disorder in childhood.

2.6.2. Discussion

The existing research evidence using standardized assessment of language abilities indicates clearly that the young male offender population is clearly at higher risk of experiencing language difficulties than the general population of children and young people, where persistent speech, language and communication difficulties have a prevalence of around 10% in the general population (Law et al, 2000).

In studies where offenders' abilities are compared to their non-offending peers (e.g. Davis et al, 1991; Blanton, 2003; Blanton and Dagenais, 2007; Humber and Snow, 2001; Snow and Powell, 2004, 2005, 2008), a consistent significant difference in prevalence and severity of language disorder in the offending group is observed, where each indicates that a higher proportion of offenders have a language disorder compared to matched peers. Significant structural language difficulties are apparent in all studies, with receptive language difficulties coming to the fore in particular (Bryan, 2004; Bryan, Freer and Furlong, 2007; Snow and Powell, 2004, 2005, 2008). However, receptive and expressive difficulties were found to be equivalently demonstrated in one study (Curran, Games and Porter, 2012), with poor expressive language performance implicated more strongly in one other (Davis et al, 1991).

The other most significant finding from this small number of studies is around pragmatic language: the work of Snow with colleagues has found significantly lower scores on standardised pragmatic measures than comparison groups, particularly in producing sufficient detail and required narrative grammar elements (Snow and Powell, 2004), a narrative that is sequenced and logical (Humber and Snow, 2001), and abilities in adequately decoding abstract language (Snow and Powell, 2004, 2008).

In those studies where the key criterion measure was performance against a standardised age equivalence score rather than against a comparison group performance measure (Myers and Mutch, 1992; Bryan, 2004; Bryan, Freer and Furlong, 2007, Curran, Games and Porter, 2012), results and analysis broadly concur

with those using the matched peers method: significant structural and pragmatic deficits are apparent, with a majority of participants in the studies led by Bryan (Bryan, 2004; Bryan, Freer and Furlong, 2007) scoring below age equivalence on grammatical competency and all having some level of receptive language difficulty.

2.6.2.1. Quantitative approaches: Limitations of studies

The reviewed evidence above is exclusively cross-sectional in design and has a significant variation in a variety of dimensions: sample sizes which remain for the most part relatively small (from n=8 to n=58), features participants of a range of ages (Mutch and Myers, 1992 features children below the age of 12 while others could be considered to be in late adolescence/early adulthood, e.g. Bryan, Freer and Furlong, 2007; Bryan 2004; Snow and Powell, 2004, 2005), and assess abilities by means of range of formal language assessments (e.g. CELF3, CELF-4, TLC-E, FLTA, TROG-2, BPVS-2) with very few examining functional language by informal means.

As cross-sectional studies with small sample sizes, the studies have obvious limitations as to the conclusions that can be drawn regarding relationships between offending and language disorder. One certainly cannot draw many conclusions beyond tentative causal and correlational relationships from the results, which are for the most part descriptive of this single population; one can of course draw much more substantive conclusions and make suggestions around the implications of these results for support services for young male offenders.

In summary, these studies show strong consistency in prevalence, establishing a range of 66-100% of participants.

These studies identify some common themes, both in terms of the prevalence of SLCN in this group, and also in the methodological limitations which arise from real-world constraints of working in the field with participants.

Key aims of these studies are provision of targeted intervention to improve the lives of clients/communities, and the enactment of policy change arising from the findings, and as such, these studies are subject to pressures and limitations outside those of a “pure” academic investigation. YOTs may have access to one or maybe two SLTs at most, themselves with limited resources, and for a time-limited period (for example, Lanz’s (2009) study is time-limited to a 4-month pilot study; Brooks’ (2011) study is a 13-month pilot; Burrows and Yiga’s (2012), a two-year project) . Projects are, after all, most likely to be approved, launched and maintained if they can be shown to be manageable and feasible within the more general working environment.

As such, these investigations are characterized by mostly small sample sizes, with a focus on standardized formal assessment. They are all time-limited pilot studies; control groups are rarely used, and some of the studies are subject to high attrition rates. In addition, because of the possible real-world benefits of involvement in an intervention programme, it may be difficult to limit the number of participants or keep participant categories/groups as separate as originally intended, for example in the Milton Keynes (Lanz, 2009) study, where further clients who did not meet the initial inclusion criteria (young people in the NEET condition) were introduced at a later date, or where YOT officers referred further participants in an attempt to discern whether a young person was unwilling or unable to engage (Brooks, 2011). As such, these results may be more appropriately viewed as highly indicative, rather than conclusive proof, of a high degree of SLCN in this population.

There is the perennial terminological debate in the field, where at any one time, problems with language may be discussed throughout the literature by a variety of overlapping terms, e.g. “disorder”, “difficulties”, “deficit”, “impairment” or indeed, least detailed, “problems”; the popularity in the UK of the term “speech, language and communication needs” (SLCN) among educators and SLTs alike emphasises needs, rather than diagnosis, and so makes judgment against medical-model based interpretations harder. Current and historical trends in usage, intended audience

and the academic and or/occupational background of the researcher contribute to an array of terms of varying granularity which can make between-study comparison difficult (Walsh, 2005a, 2005b; Bishop, 2014; Dockrell and Howell, 2015).

Thus the picture built up by the evidence base derived from quantitative methods of investigation into language and communication abilities of young people who offend is clearly derived from a patchwork of differing environments, investigative aims, and a variety of measurement criteria; however, over the past 15-20 years in particular, a quantitative-based methods approach has demonstrated unequivocally the high prevalence of language disorder within these populations. In turn, the case for the existence of SLCN within these populations has been made decisively. In particular, the conclusions drawn by Bryan et al. (2007) (e.g. as quoted on the RCSLT website, “Research shows that between 66% and 90% of young offenders have low language skills, with 46-47% of these being in the poor or very poor range” (RCSLT, 2018a)) are quoted widely in governmental report (Bercow, 2008, 2018), parliamentary standard notes (Grimwood and Strickland, 2013), and at local council level (e.g. Blackpool Council, 2014).

The evidence base making use of qualitative methods to investigate views on language and communication abilities of young people who offend is comparatively sparse compared to quantitative approaches; available evidence to date in this area is examined below.

2.7. Qualitative approaches: language and communication abilities of young offenders

Distinct from predominantly quantitative approaches in language and communication research with this population, some researchers have adopted qualitative or mixed-methods approaches to investigation of linguistic abilities of young offenders. Main methods have used questionnaire or interview-based approaches to obtain participant views on their own abilities and other perspectives that provide personal, individualised accounts of lived experience, may inform future practice and offer ways forward to develop the evidence base further. A variety of participant groups and settings have featured in the small number of studies to date, with, predominantly due to the work of Dixie Sanger, a more balanced gender profile than in populations featured in quantitative investigations. The following section examines the literature specifically regarding the views of young people who have offended about their own language and communication.

The work of Sanger and colleagues (1999; 2000; 2003a; 2003b; 2004) in the US with male and female young offenders has had an international influence on subsequent work carried out by key authors such as Bryan (UK) and Snow (Australia) into language and communication difficulties. These relevant studies are outlined, summarized and contrasted below.

Adopting a qualitative method, Sanger et al. (1999) interviewed young female offenders (n=45) to gain a picture of the extent of participants' awareness of pragmatic "rules" in conversational interactions. Group discussions were arranged between participants with the aim of discussing particular pragmatic topics: a) What is conversation; b) what stops conversation; (c) the speaker's job; (d) keeping a conversation going; (e) providing adequate information during conversational exchanges; (f) the listener's job; (g) negotiating, solving problems, and disagreeing effectively during conversations; and (h) expressing feelings. The authors identified, analysed and organised common themes of discussion that had arisen during the

sessions on conversational pragmatic conventions relating to both verbal and non-verbal communication.

Non-verbal communication themes included: (a) active listening, i.e. the importance of paying attention and demonstrably listening to others during conversation; (b) body position – “body language” demonstrating emotional or attentional state, proximity as a means of showing dominance, or moving away from someone if wanting to end an interaction; and (c) eye contact, facial expressions, and gestures – while discussing eye contact, no qualitative judgments were offered by participants around “good” or “bad” varieties of eye contact; while clearly recognising the impact of “dirty looks” or “rolling eyes”, participants were observed to do this during discussions; while discussion highlighted the ideal pragmatic behaviours, observation of the groups themselves suggested these rules were not being enacted. Verbal communication themes included: (a) utterance types – eg means of initiating and maintaining conversations; (b) topics of conversation – while participants discussed what may be regarded as appropriate topics, for example, personal experiences, shopping, food, etc, yet in practice often raised themes of violence, with the authors commenting that “Overall, the participants seemed to view violence as a means of expressing power, dominance, and control, although a number also commented on the importance of not getting angry when someone disagrees with them.” (p. 288) (c) politeness and honesty – primarily discussed in terms of tone of voice and swearing; it was acknowledged by participants that they were only polite when others were perceived as fair and nice about them; (d) conversational management – participants demonstrated awareness of conversational conventions such as turn taking and allowing all present to participate and topic maintenance with discussion of one topic at a time; observers noted that while participants were keen to discuss these interactional rules, again, they were often not followed in the course of the discussions, with participants often displaying poor topic maintenance and turn-taking practices.

The authors explain this contradiction as indicative of young female delinquents' "performance deficits", either conscious (they choose to do so) or involuntary (they lack the awareness to behave differently). Conscious behaviours – the first option – may well be because "the communication challenges of juvenile offenders reflect their desire not to follow social conventions regulating conversational interactions rather than an inability to communicate in the manner dictated as appropriate by society" (p. 290), where the behaviours are acceptable forms of communication in their peer group, and are part of a need to establish dominance in their peer group; as the authors state, "the interaction style is problematic for professionals working with adjudicated youth who adhere to the expectations of society as a whole." (p. 290).

An alternative explanation is offered: that the participants lack self-awareness and limited behaviour-monitoring abilities, which contradicts an earlier study by the same authors (Sanger et al, 1999) where adequate pragmatic skills were noted, which the researchers attributed to the researcher-participant power context and the ability of the participant to modify their language to the situation; the distraction-free setting of the first study may have offered more opportunities for self-monitoring.

A limitation of the study is the lack of quantitative standardised language assessment; this would have provided additional information about the language performance of individuals and their respective groups and would have allowed for easier comparison to other studies into language skills.

Sanger et al. (1999) offer the following observation regarding the implications for SLTs in the field:

Interventions aimed at changing young offenders' pragmatic behaviors are unlikely to be effective if the youth are already aware of societal standards about communicative interactions and are choosing to violate these standards for one or more reasons. On the other hand, if delinquent youth have difficulty identifying and monitoring self-generated pragmatic

behaviors, programs providing such practice have the potential to impact communicative performance. Distinguishing between these possibilities is one of the many challenges facing speech-language pathologists and requiring additional research. (p. 292)

Sanger et al. (2000) carried out a mixed-methods study with female young offenders (n=20, age range 13.8y – 18y) with a history of maltreatment to investigate how they described their communication behaviours in a variety of settings, and also how their maltreatment history related to their communication skills. A triangulatory approach was adopted, by means of examination of personal and case history records for ethnic background, IQ and involvement with support services such as SLT and education; administration of CELF-3 subtests to establish the presence or absence of language disorder; and individual or group interview to gain their views on their communication with friends, authority figures and parents, and how they viewed their experience maltreatment and how it affected their communication.

CELF-3 language score results for the group showed that 20% met the threshold for language disorder (n=4).

The authors analysed and presented their interview data under four main themes: *how participants communicated, feelings and emotions, trust, and how maltreatment related to communication.* From this, they formulated key points:

- A number of participants indicated that their communication skills were poor;
- Some recognized they needed help with their communication;
- Many participants admitted that it was difficult to talk about being abused and that it had affected their entire life;
- Many participants reported that their abuse resulted in feelings of embarrassment, withdrawal, shyness, and anger, which were accompanied by an inability to trust people and a lack of self-confidence;

- Many of the youth indicated they lacked respect for and hated authority figures;
- Participants varied in their communication skills when dealing with peers. Some described communication as open and honest. Others indicated they had been betrayed by friends.

While some of the young people recognized that they needed help with their communication, none, as the authors say, provided specific information about their communication problems. This is a key point to bear in mind for studies in this area: expecting a high degree of self-awareness from participants on a specific, sometimes difficult, abstract topic such as communication abilities may be difficult without support and sufficient time to discuss the issues that arise. However, as the authors state, “..youth who are juvenile delinquents and have been maltreated have important perspectives, ideas, and information to offer about their communication behaviors” (p. 186).

The study has a number of limitations: firstly, while the triangulatory approach is appropriate, it does not necessarily reveal a great deal about the functional language abilities of this population and claims that participants have language disorder should be interpreted with caution. Secondly, their statements about their feelings and emotions in the study were frequently negative; this may have been an effect of the study and not necessarily how they would speak to friends and family when expressing their emotions. Thirdly, the authors state that these qualitative findings relate only to the participants involved in the study and cannot be generalized to the wider population of adolescents.

Using a phenomenological analysis approach, Sanger et al. (2003a) explored the views of incarcerated females in a correctional facility ($n=13$, age range 13.6y – 17.7y; $M=15.43y$, $SD=1.46y$) on their own communication. Participants were identified as having a language disorder prior to involvement in the study according to discrepancy criteria, with performance more than 1.3SD below the mean on

CELF-3 and Adolescent WORD Test (Zachman, Huisingsh, Barrett, Orman, and Blagden, 1989). Triangulation of data was attempted by reference to IQ scores, school reports and experiences of maltreatment.

Participants were asked four questions about their own communication and learning:

- *How would you describe the meaning of communication?*
- *How would you describe your communication behaviours and skills with your friends?*
- *How would you describe your communication behaviours and skills with authority figures such as parents, teachers, or educators at the facility?*
- *How would you describe your learning experiences at schools before your admittance to the correctional facility?*

Participant responses were collated by two researchers into a series of statements that were regarded as relevant to the interview questions. Responses were grouped according to three superordinate themes. Example statements and findings are grouped under these themes as below:

How teenagers communicate with friends, parents and authority

Comments here included *being a good listener, talking with other people, use of eye contact and gesture*; many expressed the view that they often shouted, bullied, argued and used physical force to communicate their views and feelings. Among friends, a range of behaviours were discussed from friends being a means of support through to fighting. The breaking of pragmatic rules was also discussed, for example, interrupting and not waiting one's turn to speak if friends were too talkative. In regard to authority figures, most claimed they did not talk politely to school staff.

How participants view themselves

Nine out of the 13 participants made comment about their own feelings; the authors report that when discussing how others (peers and adults) see them, a majority of words were negative, with some participants discussing “feeling dumb” and having trouble understanding jokes; describing how their maltreatment and communication were associated, expression of feelings of low-self-worth were in evidence in a majority of cases.

Learning in school

Participants reported that they had difficulties with maths, reading and writing, with some indicating that they had problems with understanding the vocabulary in their text books. Teachers “saying big words” and ignoring participants in class was also discussed with several saying they did not understand the words in their books. Lack of success in the transition from primary school into secondary (elementary to high school) in terms of confidence and academic ability was expressed by a majority. Difficulties with following directions and maintaining attention, requiring additional time to process and comprehend information, and a lack of consistency in word comprehension was also reported.

Complementary to this study, Sanger et al. (2003b) also examined the views of age and SES-matched groups of incarcerated ($n=23$, $M=16.21$, $SD=10.27$) and non-incarcerated ($n=23$, $M=16.26$, $SD=15.5$) female adolescents on performance of conversational behaviours and knowledge of pragmatics. Responses were recorded on two 20-point questionnaires, with the performance survey basing items on a 7-point Likert-type frequency scale (1 – *never*, to 7 – *always*, with the midpoint 4 corresponding to *sometimes*). The questionnaire consisted of twenty items in the form of statements, such as “I nod while my conversational partner is talking”; “I

interrupt my conversational partner”; “I smile or laugh when my conversational partner makes an attempt at humour”.

Items on the knowledge of pragmatics questionnaire were in yes/no format, with *yes* responses aligned to defining behaviours as “appropriate”, and *no* as “not appropriate”, for example, “Does society believe it is appropriate for people to smile or laugh when their conversation partner is trying to be humorous or funny?” or “Does society believe it is appropriate for people to talk about common subjects such as sports, school, or weather when they first meet a person? Why?” In response to the question “Why?”, question, participants were required to write a short explanatory passage for their choice.

Results indicated that there was no significant difference between either group in terms of self-assessment of their pragmatic practices in conversational behaviours. In the results for the knowledge questionnaire, both group responses were again similar, with the authors concluding that “the two groups of teenage girls are more alike than different in responses to items pertaining to their performance of and knowledge about pragmatic practices of conversational interactions.” (p. 69); qualitative responses about knowledge of societal norms surrounding pragmatic practices were also considered by the authors to be similar between both groups, where they stated expected conversational conventions. Of significance was a variation in the qualitative responses between the two groups on the knowledge questionnaire, where for the “delinquent” group, *being safe, showing respect and trusting other people* were regarded as appropriate behaviours by society; these features were not mentioned by the “non-adjudicated” group in their responses.

The study did not test the language skills of either group so was unable to investigate associations between responses and the presence of a language disorder. However, as the authors argue, given the weighty evidence base for the prevalence of language disorders in these groups, it was likely that some of the incarcerated girls would have been eligible for speech and language therapy services but had not yet been identified as such.

Aside from the work of Sanger with others, a handful of studies have investigated views of offender populations on their own language and communication abilities.

Adopting a case study approach, Sondenaa et al. (2016) carried out research at a prison in Norway using a semi-structured interview method. Three male participants aged 19-22 took part in one-to-one interviews in which they were asked about “childhood, adolescence and learning difficulties”, “adjustment and the onset of offending” and “present challenges resulting from reading and writing problems” (p. 32-33). While the study appears to concentrate mainly on experiences of difficulties with literacy, “communication problems” are also discussed. After interview of all three participants (referred to as Mr A, Mr B and Mr C), and analysis, key themes were identified by the authors:

- “Naivety”: the authors describe the personal attributes of two of the participants in this way, referring to one participant’s “uncritical” acceptance of support from professionals and peers in the prison. Both participants appeared unworried about the future when transitioning out from prison into the community.
- “Powerlessness”: one participant is described as having feelings of powerlessness, in a system he appears not to understand; this is contrasted with the other two participants who it is reported have greater sense of why they are in prison and future steps upon liberation.
- “Personal Characteristics”: the authors state that the participants have differing ways of requesting support with communication and literacy. One is described as having confidence in asking for help from peers and authority figures (Mr A). Mr B requests help predominantly from parents, while Mr C is seen as mistrustful of authorities, is suspicious of others, and “does not know how to solve his problems” (p. 35).
- Expectations and Suggestions: again, two participants (Mr A and Mr B) are contrasted with a third (Mr C) in terms of a positive outlook for the future, whereas Mr C is “miserable”. However, Mr A is quoted by the authors on the

use of vocabulary and verbosity of the letters he receives: “There are too many words in the letters; it feels like they are circling around the message”. (p. 35)

Sondenaa et al. conclude that a need for plain language in judicial language is required and that prisoners with communication difficulties require greater support in the literacy skills.

The study, as the authors admit, has a very small sample size and is non-generalizable to the prison population. No theoretical framework of analysis is offered and any description of methodological approach or analysis of data is kept to a minimum. It reiterates the need for support for people with communication and literacy difficulties, but is a superficial addition to the literature on the communication difficulties of young offenders using a solely qualitative approach.

In the UK, Hopkins et al. (2016) carried out a qualitative study with young offenders in the community (n=31, age 12-18y, M=16y, SD=1.1) using one-to-one interviews and focus groups to ascertain their perspectives on their own communication skills. Data was analysed using a framework analysis method (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). The rationale for the study was to find out more about the views and perceptions of their language and communication skills with a view to informing future intervention and support. Participants were recruited as an opportunity sample from a youth justice service in the north of England. All YOs were currently serving community court orders. The majority of the participants were male (n=28), and White Caucasian (n=20), which resembles the typical make-up of the youth offending population in England and Wales.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 26 of the participants, and was in three parts; firstly, examining self-perception of literacy and communication skills and the level of support they received; the second section focused on participants' comprehension in social interaction, and how satisfied they were in their interactions with the variety of people they encountered in their personal lives and

in the youth justice system. The last section looked into seeking emotional support and dealing with communication breakdown and conflict.

A number of themes, both superordinate and subordinate, were identified by the authors. They are outlined below.

What is communication?

A majority of participants referred to speaking and non-verbal communication, with only a minority discussing listening and attending to information. Good communication was considered to be “politeness” or “respect”; examples of “poor communication” centred on violence, shouting and swearing.

Satisfaction with communication and literacy ability

A majority (n=19) reported that they would like to improve their communication and literacy skills; spelling and neatness of handwriting were offered as examples of improvement in literacy, while desired communication improvements included clearer articulation and reduction of swearing and aggression.

Implications of communication and literacy difficulties in the youth justice system

Curiously, a majority of participants here felt that good literacy abilities were not important for working with police and the courts, but important for reading and signing legal documents; around a third (n=11) of participants felt that communication skills frequently required in court included listening and understanding; good communication skills were seen by around a third of participants as having an influence on possible outcomes, either through severity or avoidance of punishment. Youth offending service support was seen as positive and respectful, and a mitigating factor for poor communication skills, which were thus

not seen as particularly important by a third of participants. Police verbal aggression was seen as a factor that could not be mitigated by any level of communication skill.

Participation of and preference for literacy activity

A majority of participants reported limitations in their literacy activities, where they only occurred during school time; two participants reported reading books outside of educational settings. Others were more likely to refer to functional literacy activities such as reading the paper; technological functional literacy activities such as email, social media and texting were cited by all but one of the participants, with six reporting that the preferred linguistic forms they used in these activities – abbreviations and slang – had an effect on the quality of their school work. Good literacy abilities were seen by around half of the group contributing to the theme (n=10, out of 19) as unnecessary for technological means of communication.

Attention and understanding

Attention and listening were reported as problematic for a minority of participants, with “not listening”, at school, in the youth justice system or at home reported by around a third (n=12); attending to long chunks of information was a problem for 7 participants, and six reporting a lack of attention to spoken language affecting their comprehension in the school setting.

A majority (n=17) felt that their comprehension was affected by the level of vocabulary used by the teachers at school; teachers were reported as ignoring requests for help, which led to frustration for some participants (n=5). However, just under half (n=14) reported understanding their teachers and receiving support to aid their comprehension.

In the youth justice system, level of vocabulary was also perceived as an issue, with that used in courts and by police considered a problem by 13 participants; however,

a large majority (n=25) felt that vocabulary was not an issue for them in this setting, with 13 reporting that youth justice service staff supported them in the comprehension. Under a third felt that the court communicated in a clear and helpful manner.

Communication at home was felt to be clear by 22 participants in terms of comprehension of others, which was often attributed to less complex vocabulary and clearer explanations.

Use of avoidance and confrontation strategies in confiding and conflicting with others

A majority of the participants reported confrontation – physical and verbal – with others in their everyday experience, with arguing with police, parents and teachers reported as common (n=15, n=17, n=16 respectively). 19 participants also stated that they were satisfied with how these conflicts were resolved, compared to eight who expressed that they were dissatisfied.

Avoidance of communication to resolve conflict was reported by 19 participants, mainly with parents at home or police to avoid subsequent punishments; 13 felt that communication could be used as a means to solve conflicts, particularly with parents. 14 participants reported not confiding in anyone to discuss personal issues, with fear of embarrassment given as a reason by two participants. A decision not to confide in others was reported by 10 participants as a means of avoiding punishment.

Self-confidence and self-presentation

Some participants (n=11) felt that their self-presentation to peers was affected by lower level of communication skills; six reported embarrassment as a main reason why they did not ask for support in the youth justice system or in schools. Self-

confidence issues could be provoked by how teachers and parents talked to some participants, which was perceived as patronizing or negative (n=12 for teachers, n=3 for parents). Police communication was seen by a large number of participants (n=19) as rude, immature, unprofessional or confrontational.

Reciprocal respect and power

Seventeen participants reported that respectful relationships and trust were important to them, in order to maintain positive relationships with peers, parents, teachers and YOS workers. Some (n=13) felt that they had respectful relationships with teachers, and others (n=11) reported the same with police.

Unjust use of power was an important subtheme here, with police involvement the most reported (n=17), with YOS workers not perceived to hold the same attitudes.

To summarise, Hopkins et al. found that a majority of participants aged 12-18 years involved with the criminal justice system valued communication and literacy skills, which they often saw as a means of avoiding either severe or further punishments. In tandem with this, they felt that their own communication and literacy skills could be improved, particularly in terms of literacy abilities, which appears to be a reason for their choosing what they perceived as “low level literacy” activities for communication such as texting and use of social media. While they were able to describe good communication, fewer of them consistently applied this to their own behaviours. A majority found school to be a source of frustration, either due to a lack of support from teachers or due to the higher linguistic demands placed on them by staff. Lack of trust or respect for authority figures was also apparent from many participant responses. Satisfaction was expressed by many about being unwilling to confide in other people as a source of support. Finally, conflict resolution was often reported to occur either by adoption of avoidance behaviours or physical confrontations, rather than constructive communicative means.

Most recently, Lount et al. (2017) interviewed 8 male participants in a New Zealand Youth Justice residence ($M=16.5$, $SD=0.25$) using a semi-structured interview schedule and subsequent thematic analysis of interview data. The authors' main finding from the interview data was a lack of control and lack of "voice" reported by participants when dealing with the courts. Participants reported a lack of understanding of court proceedings, reduced confidence, and limited opportunities for participation. The young men provided knowledge of communication strategies that could help them but did not consistently make use of these. The authors concluded that participant knowledge of "good communication" in the abstract was not consistently applied effectively in reality when required. Factors that facilitated communication included familiarity with the communication partner, a shared understanding, and feelings of trust and respect.

2.7.1. Discussion: integrating common themes

A clear common feature of these studies (Sanger et al, 1999, 2000, 2003a, 2003b; Hopkins et al, 2016; Lount et al, 2017) is that they detail the self-perceptions of young people who have offended around their language and communication abilities. A number of common themes arose. These are listed below:

- Difficulty with applying social communication rules
- Comprehension and vocabulary difficulties
- Contribution of language needs to trust and respect of authority figures
- Perception that own literacy/communications skills are poor or in need of improvement
- Expectations of support from professionals
- Effects on self-esteem and self-image

Each of these themes is examined in more detail below. For ease of reading, the studies will be identified by the primary author, "Sanger" "Hopkins" and "Lount", with relevant years included to distinguish between studies by Sanger et al.

Difficulty with application of social communication rules

All studies discuss the apparent gap between knowledge and performance of social communication rules in young female and male offenders, where participants are able to describe the features of “good communication” (politeness and respect in Hopkins, i.e. following social communication conventions; in the Sanger studies, “showing respect” was seen as an important social norm by the adjudicated participants, and little difference seen between responses for general social appropriateness between offending and non-offending female participants) and poor communication (fighting, swearing, shouting in Hopkins et al, “cussing” and fighting in Sanger, 2000), and were not apparently able to consistently apply these rules to their own behaviour.

Comprehension and vocabulary demands

In the Hopkins study, a majority of participants report that a major cause of frustration with school and teachers was use of “big words”, and the vocabulary level in class; the support with comprehension of court and police terminology offered by youth justice workers was seen as important by a significant number of participants in both the Hopkins and Lount studies. Hopkins contrasts these higher environmental demands with the lower vocabulary and comprehension demands of home life, where less complex vocabulary is used and people “know what you’re like”.

This is also the case with Sanger studies (2000, 2003b), as detailed in the *theme of learning in school*; comprehension and “learning big words” is seen as a key difficulty by participants. Of course, it is not only the use or understanding in itself of more complex vocabulary and reduced understanding that is a concern for these young people; rather use by educators of “big words” in class, as reported by

Sanger, leads to “feeling stupid”, frustration, reported disengagement from education.

Contribution of language needs to trust and respect of authority figures

Linked to the above, the contribution of language needs to trust and respect was a feature of all studies, where low levels of trust in justice and educational authority figures were apparent. Reasons given were consistent across the studies. In all studies, perceptions by participants of “not being listened to” and “being disrespected” are apparent, with negative police attitudes and “unjust use of power” key themes in the Hopkins et al. study, while in terms of linguistic needs, authority figures using complex or abstract vocabulary (both authors), not allowing enough time to process information, and not providing enough support for reading (Sanger in particular) also feature prominently. This appears in turn to contribute to a decrease in trust or engagement with youth justice or school as a result of comprehension difficulties and frustration (Hopkins and Sanger) and/or due to associations with prior experience of maltreatment (Sanger). However, youth workers were regarded by participants in both the Lount and Hopkins studies as using a more appropriate level of vocabulary, explaining situations more thoroughly than police or education staff; this appears to contribute towards reported positive attitudes to these professionals. Whether or not this is because youth workers also had less power than other authority figures is not discussed, however.

Perception that own literacy/communications skills are poor or in need of improvement

In all studies, a significant number of participants reported that they felt their own literacy and communication skills were poor or in need of improvement. It is clear from the studies that participants were capable of skill self-evaluation and could offer a critical perspective on their own abilities, outlining the significance they had

for their own wellbeing and futures. Participants were able to offer a degree of insight into why this might be a favourable outcome for them, discussing reduction in aggression and increase in confidence (Hopkins) or consistent lack of confidence (Lount), feelings of failure if they remain unaddressed (Sanger). This is reported as having subsequent effects on engagement with education (Sanger) and engagement with youth justice services (Hopkins).

Expectations of support from professionals

A majority of participants clearly stated in all studies that they required support for their difficulties, and it is apparent that the level of support and expression of empathy for those with language difficulties had an effect on their attitudes both to the professionals within that setting, and also to their own wellbeing. A range of opinions were expressed about the level of support they received from educators (Hopkins and Sanger), but importance of provision of support if needed is clear; the provision or lack of support, and if provided, its quality, shaped participants' view of those professionals. Police were regarded as doing the minimum to help, and are described as subsequently being met with resistance and silence by a majority of participants, while there is an expectation of support from legal professionals such as lawyers in dealing with the courts (Hopkins); in the primarily educational focus of Sanger's work, participants were often aware of their difficulties and explicitly looked to teachers to offer help where needed.

Effects on self-esteem and self-image

A final theme from these studies details the effect of reduced language abilities have on the participant's self-perceptions, and how they perceive others' opinions of them. All studies discuss the fear of looking "dumb", "stupid" and feeling "put down" by people in authority. Hopkins primarily discusses self-confidence and self-presentation, how self-confidence may be damaged by others' views of them and

how they communicated with them. In addition, fear of embarrassment and concern over looking stupid were an obstacle to asking for the support participants feel they need; Sanger discusses how feelings of low self-worth pervaded interactions in a range of settings, whether in home life, in school or with peers.

2.8. Literature review: Conclusions

Examining both the quantitative and qualitative strands of existing research into SLCN of young people who offend leads the researcher to conclude that the current study can make an original contribution to the evidence base and also take an opportunity to further add to the contributions of other authors.

Fundamentally, in the context of the international work carried out to date, no published work exists that examines the SLCN of young people who offend in Scotland. Young people who offend in Scotland are subject to supervision and custody within Scottish welfare and justice frameworks which differ from those in the rest of the UK, as outlined in Chapter 1. Investigation of need within the Scottish justice system would thus be a valuable addition to the evidence base.

Quantitative research in this area to date, as outlined above, has focused on the prevalence and nature of SLCN or language disorder in custodial populations mostly with the aim of establishing the extent of SLCN in these groups by administration of standardised formal language assessments. In order for any consistent comparison between studies to be made, therefore, employment by the current study of a standardised formal language assessment as a means of establishing prevalence of SLCN within the participant group would be a significant addition to the evidence base.

Qualitative research to date with young people who offend has predominantly taken place with participants working with Youth Offending Teams in the community (Hopkins et al, 2016) and in the US and New Zealand studies (Sanger et al, 1999, 2000a, 2000b, 2003; Lount et al, 2017), participants in Youth Justice

Institutions. No UK study taking a qualitative approach in this area has been carried out with young people in custody, who are likely to have had a wider and more frequent experience of interactions within the justice system than those under court orders in the community.

The cited qualitative studies often feature young people's reflective and nuanced responses about their own communication skills and current events in their lives. Studies to date have mostly concentrated on the specific topic of young people's experience of the justice system and their own views on their communication abilities to cope with the demands placed upon them in these environments.

These features of the studies to date prompted the researcher to consider encompassing a wider array of events and interactions than has previously featured in the evidence base, with the aim of providing a more holistic picture of interactions within the variety of differing settings encountered.

For example, the current evidence base lacks discussion of the experience of young people who offend within Scotland's Children's Hearings System. The mean age of young people included in the cited quantitative studies above is 15;3. In Scotland, a 15-year-old offender is likely to be subject to a Compulsory Supervision Order and be dealt with by the Children's Hearings System. While not all take this route into the Hearings System prior to being placed in custody, a significant proportion will have had looked-after experience, which is highly likely to have involved attending Children's Panels and interacting with Panel Members. Only one study in this area, by McCool and Stevens (2011), has been carried out in Scotland to date. The authors examined the language and communication abilities of young people (n=30, M=172.57m) with looked-after experience, in this case, residential care, with the authors employing a carer-administered CCC-2 (Children's Communication Checklist – 2nd Edition)(Bishop, 2003) as a measure of communication abilities. Crucially, this study did not specify offending status of participants, only that they had looked-after experience. Given the prominence in Scotland of the Children's Hearings System in justice and welfare provision and decision-making, this is a topic area that

should be included in a qualitative investigation of views on historical as well as current events in a young person's life.

To date, no published studies have examined the views of young people in custody around the quality of their relationships and interactions within the considerable variety of micro- and mesosystems they encounter. These young people have experience of a wide variety of interactions with an array of professionals, for example, prison officers, NHS healthcare staff, education providers and external support workers. In prison, their circumstances dictate that they are surrounded every day by their peers – both friends and unfamiliar individuals. In addition, their educational experiences at school and college, their family relationships, interactions with peers in the community and experience of justice environments such as police settings, the court, and Children's Hearings are all significant holistic factors to consider when describing readiness or willingness to engage with support services.

In addition, both quantitative and qualitative studies into this area to date have examined the prevalence, nature and views of opportunity samples of young people who offend taken from the whole prison or institutional population, in the case of those in custody or remand, from opportunity samples of young people working with Youth Offending Teams in community. Understandably, given the difficulty of recruitment in this area, few subgroups of offenders feature in the evidence base. The intended sample group in this study is young people with recent experience of removal from association/segregation from the main prison population. This group was selected in order to allow examination of the views of a subgroup of the prison population that has not yet appeared in the literature in this area, considered to be most "at-risk" within the prison population.

Finally, the studies cited in this literature review take a general developmental approach as exemplified by the use of standardised language assessment. Given the wide developmental scope of the qualitative strand of the current study, Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Model has been employed.

2.8.1. Formulation of research questions

From the literature review, research questions were formulated to investigate the prevalence and nature of language disorder in young people in custody with experience of removal from association, and to investigate their views on their own abilities and interactions within a wider variety of social settings than has previously been captured within the literature. Formulation of the research questions and subsequent interpretation of results is underpinned by Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Systems Theory.

The study research questions are discussed in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3: *Research Questions*

3.1. Research Questions

This study aims to extend the evidence base and make an original contribution to knowledge in the field of language, communication and youth offending.

Firstly, by means of standardised formal language assessment and an informal justice vocabulary assessment, an investigation will be carried out into the nature and prevalence of participants' language abilities.

Based on evidence from previous studies with similar population groups (Snow et al, 2015; Gregory and Bryan, 2011; Snow and Powell, 2011) it is hypothesised that prevalence of language disorder will be similar to that found within previous studies of incarcerated young offender populations. Based on the limited evidence available on justice vocabulary (Crew and Ellis, 2008), it is hypothesised that all participants will have difficulty with defining all terms adequately, with no participant defining more than 50% of the target words correctly.

Research Question 1: What is the nature and prevalence of the language abilities of young people who have been recently segregated?

- Hypothesis 1: 40-60% of participants will perform below normal limits, with 20-30% of scores in the very low to severe range for language disorder.
- Hypothesis 2: 100% of participants will receive a score below 50% in the justice vocabulary assessment.

The remaining research questions focus on participants' views of their own communication and language abilities; in the interviews they are asked to make judgments about how they feel their communication and language skills contribute to successful interaction with others: in their personal lives, among peers within the

prison environment and in the community, and in additional criminal justice settings such as the Children's Hearings System, in courtroom settings, and with police staff.

Research Question 2: What do the young people think of their language, communication and literacy abilities?

Research Question 3: What are the young people's perspectives on their interactions with peers?

Research Question 4: What are the young people's perspectives on their interactions with authority figures, historically and currently?

CHAPTER 4: *Methodology*

4.1. Introduction

This section lays out the methodology for the study. The background to the methodological approach chosen is discussed by reference to existing qualitative prison research literature. Following this is an examination of positionality and reflexivity when conducting prison research. Rationales are provided for the language assessment chosen and semi-structured interview schedule. A detailed discussion of the data collection phase then follows, with reference to the ethics and permission processes, inclusionary and exclusionary criteria, recruitment and selection and equipment used in the study. Following this is a description of the methodological challenges experienced in gaining and maintaining access within the prison environment, and descriptive data related to the assessment and interview sessions are provided. Available background information about participants is provided.

4.2. Background to methodology: doing prison research

Having experienced speech and language-therapy based criminal justice work on clinical placements, and having forged relationships within the Criminal Justice (Scotland) RCSLT Special Interest Group, the researcher wished to pursue this area of interest more deeply. The researcher's supervisor had previously worked with the current SLT at Polmont HMYOI and a meeting was arranged to discuss any pertinent research areas that might be of use to the service; it was important that any research conducted with the SLT service could have an impact or applicable outcome.

During initial meetings with the SLT and her service manager, the topic of violence and segregation arose, with the SLCN of this subgroup of the prison population

described as in need of greater discussion and investigation. A number of research questions and possible means by which they could be investigated were discussed at this point, with particular mention given to the SPS's anti-violence strategy and the possibility that any conclusions of this study might contribute to the strategy. Arrangements were made to meet with the SPS Research Co-ordinator, who was enthusiastic about the scope and objectives of the tentative research. Having met with the RC, another meeting was then arranged with the governor of the prison, the RC, the researcher and the SLT. The outcome of this meeting was the tacit approval of the project as discussed and the next steps required included the need for a formal written proposal. This proposal was formulated (see Appendix A) and disseminated at the end of 2015 and met with approval from all parties. From here, a number of formal ethics and access applications were begun. These are discussed in section 4.6.1.

4.2.1. Doing prison research: pains and gains

When considering the literature around the methodological issues of researching in prisons, it is useful to draw a distinction between the broad notion of "doing prison research" and the more specific, context-bound activity of "doing research in a prison". The former concept certainly contains the latter, but also covers a wide variety of experiences beyond the act of physically entering the institution in the hope of getting answers to one's research questions. The inexperienced researcher could be forgiven for shying away from wishing to conduct "prison research", having read about its ensuing challenges and the possible impact on the individuals (participants and researchers both) involved. Many researchers, particularly in qualitative research in this area, have stressed the complexity and difficulty inherent in even getting the project off the ground long before the subsequent concerns around making contact with participants and collecting what one intends to be meaningful data.

The process of doing qualitative prison research has come into keener focus in the past 20 years within the prison studies and criminology literature and has provided something akin to a “user guide” on the main procedural steps required. Researchers using qualitative methods in prisons, predominantly employing ethnographic approaches – where naturalistic contact and observation are crucial – often ground their work in a social-constructivist theoretical base, where the “constructed realities” of both the participants and the researcher themselves are equally valued (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). A methodological theoretical approach that allows discussion of the intricacies of interaction between the social environment and the individual in this case is desirable, for example Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems/Bioecological Models (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2006). This ethnographic evidence base, where gaining and maintaining trust, reducing hostility from staff and prisoners and building rapport are crucial, has proved a useful source of perspectives on the “pains and gains of qualitative prison research” (Beyens et al, 2015, p. 67).

In contrast, prison research using a quantitative approach is, as might be expected, much less involved with process in its reporting: while the quantitative researcher will undoubtedly have had to pass through very similar institutional access procedures and similar personal reflective processes to arrive at their data, such information is rarely included in the evidence. SLT prison research literature is still a relatively new field and is predominantly quantitative in nature. This is an understandable characteristic of the research literature in this area; the past 15 years or so have been devoted almost exclusively to the establishment of need in this population, with, in terms of dissemination of the information, successful results. The work is also carried out by, in the main, established academics.

Qualitative research based authors offer comment on the activity of “doing prison research” itself: ““Doing prison research is difficult.” (Bosworth et al, 2005, p. 249); “Today, doing prison research is very difficult.” (Lucic-Catic, 2011, p. 31); others on its emotional impact, where doing prison research “makes demands on fieldworkers

which are at times barely tolerable” (Liebling et al, 1999). Some offer the insight that one cannot fully appreciate what happens until one is in the environment itself: “...neither previous research experience in the social sciences nor the variety of academic articles on the subject can fully prepare one for the challenges encountered in the world of “prison research.” (Lucic-Catic, 2011, p. 42). Advice on “surviving research” in prisons is offered (Hassan, 2016). A “mistrust of academics” among prison staff is discussed (Beyens et al, 2015, citing Liebling, Price and Elliott 1999); the recruitment process is compared thus: “It is far easier to gain access to study the residents of a remote Alaskan community than to study the lives of prison inmates” (Patenaude, 2004, p 69). “Delays may be experienced in each step of the process” ((Roberts and Indermaur, 2008, p. 314), see also Singh, 2007).

The characterization of prison research as particularly difficult, then, as authors often suggest, may act as a warning to researchers inexperienced in this area to prepare thoroughly before attempting to gain and maintain access. Alongside their occasionally florid descriptions of the process, authors often offer advice on how best to proceed. The importance of a number of common procedural features, importance of attitudes and actions during the process of gaining access to prisons is emphasized strongly across the literature. Apa et al. (2012) specify the following themes in facilitating the research process in order to successfully access the institution and maintain these relationships:

- **Develop a collaborative research relationship:** know the system; obtain appropriate permissions; emphasize mutual goals
- **Establish prison contacts in:** administrative staff; healthcare staff; security staff; inmates
- **Maintain rigorous research methods:** accommodate variations in prison cultures; data collection; maintain inmate privacy

The researcher applied his awareness of the importance of these themes throughout the entirety of the recruitment and assessment process as detailed

below in his dealings with other professionals in the prison environment. These are discussed further in the Autobiographical Reflection in Section 8.7.2.

4.3. Researcher considerations: positionality and reflexivity

In addition to the practical considerations of setting up the research study, it is crucial that researchers taking a qualitative approach consider their relative positions to intended participants and the culture in which one is operating as a researcher. This can make a large difference to the direction of data collection; consideration of notions of “positionality” and adoption of a reflective approach by the qualitative researcher, in all stages of the project planning process, is crucial. As Bourke (2014) states, “The nature of qualitative research sets the researcher as the data collection instrument” (p. 2) The researcher’s beliefs, attitudes, cultural background and prior experiences all have a part to play in the process of qualitative data collection where successful or at least substantive interpersonal interaction plays a major role: “The cogency of the research process rises from the relationship between the research instrument (the researcher) and the participants.” (p. 4).

The researcher entered the prison environment under a number of overlapping roles, namely as a speech and language therapist associated with the speech and language therapy service within the prison, and also as a PhD researcher with a specific project to carry out. My own position in my personal and professional life has led me to this area of study where I have always been involved in improving access or providing support to people with disabilities or difficulties with communication. While studying in my final year of the PGDip SLT course in 2012, I experienced a formative clinical placement at a medium-secure hospital for offenders with learning disabilities. The challenges and issues arising from this work spurred me to reflect further on the relationships and dynamics inherent in client/clinician interactions with vulnerable groups.

Both roles carry with them an element of expected authority and professional status that meant an examination of the power differential between the researcher and participants had to be considered in carrying out the research. In addition, while there was an *a priori* power differential to consider deriving from the roles adopted by the researcher on entering the prison to carry out the work, *carrying out the research itself* brought with it a variety of professional and personal considerations to take into account while also getting to grips with a new research environment. The researcher kept a reflective journal for the duration of the data collection process and beyond, which was a useful means of accounting for preconceptions, biases, behaviours during interview that may have affected participant responses, and discussion of improvements to method as the study proceeded.

The researcher also used the journal to reflect on the difficulties and concerns inherent in carrying out research in this new environment. The researcher considers himself to be a communicative and empathetic individual and on occasions where participants were not available this caused an internal conflict given the urgent nature of data collection.

An example of a typical reflective journal entry is included in Appendix R.

It was crucial to maintain a professional demeanour in an environment that was still relatively unfamiliar and in which it was often wise to defer to prison officers with more experience of the young people themselves. This was an important learning point for the researcher in terms of the chain of command in the prison and the point at which it was wise to defer to authority.

It can be understood that in the majority of qualitative interview-based studies, there is often a keen power differential between interviewer and interviewee. This was certainly the case with the current participant group, where the power differential between researcher and potential participants was a constant consideration at every step of the planning and data collection process, through data analysis and reporting results.

Consideration of this asymmetry in power was also reflected in every formal stage of the process, for example, ensuring that conditions required by the NHS REC for the study to proceed were satisfied, and practical considerations also, e.g. specifying the means by which to gain informed consent for participants to be involved and remain within the study for the duration.

The inherent power imbalance as a barrier to understanding and shared decision making between medical professional and client has been discussed at length in the literature, with asymmetry in knowledge and differing cultural attitudes and values as primary differentiators (Joseph-Williams et al, 2014; Aronson, 2013; McNeilis, 2001); the speech and language therapy research literature has also engaged with this issue to an extent, with Ferguson and Armstrong (2004) discussing the ways in which an assumed and internalised medical model approach to assessment can lead to an approach to clients as though they are “containers of competence” rather than complex communicators with an ability to interact according to their perceptions of the situation in which they find themselves.

In the initial stages of project planning, the researcher kept in mind in particular the above idea around participants being thought of as “containers of competence”, which it could be argued, has been a predominant starting point in quantitative based studies in this area until relatively recently; this is not to refute the person-centred approach also taken by many of these studies but was more to act as a guiding principle for the researcher. On the qualitative front, the work of Kvale (2002) describes the asymmetry of one-to-one interview sessions along a number of differing dimensions. These are fundamentally associated with the nature of the research interview set-up and the roles ascribed within it and are as follows:

- The researcher defines the terms and course of the interview, posing questions, deciding on thematic lines of enquiry; the research project itself dominates the direction of the discussion
- The interview is essentially a “one-way dialogue” with, commonly, little reciprocal exchange of information

- The interviewer may pursue a hidden agenda with the true intention of the interview hidden from the interviewee in order for responses to remain spontaneous and non-self-conscious
- The interviewer has an ad-hoc and/or post-hoc observer role in interview, noting behaviours during the conversation and afterwards observing the whole session during transcription and analysis
- The interview acts to serve a purpose decided by the interviewer – it is not for its own ends
- The interviewer has a “monopoly of interpretation” (p. 484) over what is said by the interviewee.

Prison research, almost by definition, accords “outsider” status on any researcher wishing to enter and carry out research with prisoners as participants (Phillips and Earle, 2010). Positionality “describes an individual’s worldview and the position they have chosen to adopt in relation to a specific research task”, which may be summarised as the ontological and epistemological positions of the research viewed through the individual researcher’s own beliefs and assumptions.

Some now reject the notion of insider/outsider status and instead see positionality as occurring on a continuum (Mercer, 2007) where the individual moves within the spectrum during the course of a study. Considerations around ethical and professional behaviour also play a part in establishing one’s positionality; ethical questions concerning coercion, informed consent and the vulnerabilities of participants feed into this. The relative advantages of both outsider and insider status have been discussed widely by qualitative researchers, particularly with hard to reach groups; a comparative advantage of outsider status is that it may encourage groups to talk in ways they would not, necessarily, with someone who shared the culture or community.

Banks (1998) discusses four types of positionality on which the researcher may be situated: the indigenous insider, the indigenous outsider, the external insider and external outsider: the prison researcher is almost invariably an *outsider* of both the

culture, unless they are a former inhabitant of the prison, and the community, unless they are employed there or have close ties with services. Work done in the initial days of the project when inside the prison may have conferred the researcher with some elements of insider status. Having been to all of the halls with the resident SLT, meeting officers and handing out information possibly gave an impression of at being at least involved in the community of the prison rather than “parachuting in” (Hemmerman, 2010, p. 17)

In relation to the researcher’s experience of the research, the relative position was not difficult to pin down; sufficient insider status was conferred upon the researcher by the necessary authorities – prison officers and healthcare staff – in order to carry out the work, and while not “parachuting in”, the researcher was still very much an outsider.

Other than being male, it is difficult to see any other apparent aspects of insider status in the course of the research. As a self-identified gay middle-aged man with a dislike of hypermasculine behaviour and environments, it could be argued that the researcher’s “outsider” status, in terms of internal motivations, was actually greater than it first appeared; Bengtsson (2016) and others (Pettersson 2014; Hallsworth and Silverstone 2009; Winlow 2001) have described extensively the “hypermasculine” traits of young offenders both in prison and community environments, characterised by “performances of overt sexuality, the willingness to commit violence, and the limitation of subversive performances” (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 410). Participants occasionally used homophobic or racist terms to refer to others which was occasionally difficult to hear, but on the few occasions the researcher was confronted with personally repugnant attitudes, the strategy employed was to move the conversation on. In addition, the researcher attempted to make use of his more overt outsider status to learn from participants. If failing to understand the prison terminology used, the researcher asked what it meant and made a point of noting it down and using it in other interview sessions. In this way, differentials in

knowledge and power between researcher and participant could be acknowledged to the benefit of the study and while maintaining rapport.

4.4. Selection of assessments: Rationale

The majority of research studies investigating language skills of young people who offend have used at least one standardised form of assessment in order to compare participant performance to normative data derived from testing of typically developing children and young people (Bryan et al, 2007; Snow and Powell, 2011; Games et al, 2012; Snow et al, 2015). Other informal forms of language assessment, such as collection and analysis of language samples can offer rich qualitative data but do not offer the opportunity to make comparisons with other individuals or groups. Given the mixed-methods design of this study the researcher wished to administer a standardized assessment that would provide quantitative data producing results for comparison across the group, and also in comparison to previous studies.

Standardized assessments, however, have their limitations. While they may provide quantitative comparative data with typically developing populations, the required test situation will not provide a naturalistic example of everyday communication. As such, it does not offer any reliable indication of how an individual communicates functionally in a natural setting. In addition, young people with reduced experience of schooling may find the test situation difficult to cope with as it may be unfamiliar. Children and young people from lower SES backgrounds are often not significantly included within the normative comparison set, which is frequently skewed towards a greater number of middle class children (Ginsborg, 2006). Standardised assessments may also not take into account variation in cultural socialisation practices (e.g. exposure to reading, linguistic forms used by examiners, prior cultural knowledge) (Pena and Quinn, 1997).

While the above points were considered when choosing a standardized assessment, the researcher considered this as the most appropriate and meaningful method for this portion of the study as it allows not only comparison of language abilities of individual participants, and description of group performance, but also cross-study comparison of findings. The standardised assessment chosen, the CELF-4 UK (Clinical Evaluation of Language Fundamentals, 4th Edition) (Semel and Wiig, 2006), is widely used in the field of Speech and Language Therapy, has a high degree of diagnostic accuracy and is therefore meaningful in this clinical context. It is used frequently in this particular YOI setting to provide a picture of an individual's language abilities.

4.4.1. Clinical Evaluation of Language Fundamentals: 4th Edition (CELF-4)

CELF-4-UK (Semel and Wiig, 2006) is a commonly administered assessment of receptive and expressive language abilities consisting of a battery of 19 subtests. The assessment allows comparison of participant scores to those of typically developing children and young people from age 5;0 to 16;11.

The CELF-4 (UK) offers the opportunity to derive a number of composite measures of language ability derived from conversion of scores from selected subtests: Receptive Language Index (RLI), Expressive Language Index (ELI) and Core Language Score (CLS). Given the assumption of a time-short assessment period, the researcher chose to use the CLS composite measure as the key indicator of language abilities. A composite score is considered to be a more reliable measure of language ability than performance on individual subtests (Dockrell and Marshall, 2015; Sparrow and Davis, 2000) and also a somewhat more accurate reflection of the complex nature of language.

CELF-4 test-subtest reliability, the measure of how stable a test score remains over time (McCauley and Swisher, 1984), is high (.70 or above), with inter-rater reliability scored at above .90 for all subtests (Semel and Wiig, 2006). While RLI and ELI

reliability coefficients are high, (.87 and .91 respectively for all ages), the Core Language Score, as a composite score of four subtests, has a reliability coefficient of .93 for all ages (Semel and Wiig, 2006). While some standardized assessments rely heavily on middle class populations for their normative data, in the case of CELF-4 UK the proportion of children and young people in its normative sample broadly matches the SES range found in the general population of the UK. Given the likelihood that potential participants in this research project would be from lower SES backgrounds, this is an important feature of the assessment.

CELF-4 (UK) – Core Language Scores

CELF-4 (UK) allows language abilities to be investigated at a number of levels. Level 1 Core Language Scores subtests are administered in order to detect the presence or absence of language disorder; subtests administered differ depending on age group, between 5-8 years or 9-16 years.

According to the CELF-4 guidelines, Core Language Score for participants in the 13-16 year-old range is calculated from scaled scores derived from four tests:

- a. Recalling Sentences*
- b. Formulated Sentences*
- c. Word Classes 2*
- d. Word Definitions*

a. Recalling Sentences

Ability to recall spoken sentences is considered a “canary in the coal mine” for underlying language disorders in children; verbal working memory tasks have been shown to be more difficult for children with DLD (Developmental Language Disorder, following CATALISE terminology: Bishop et al, 2017) (Weismer et al, 1999). Conti-Ramsden et al. (2001), testing use of four possible psycholinguistic markers of

DLD (elicited past-tense form, elicited third-person singular form, repetition of spoken sentences, repetition of non-words) in 160 children aged 11 years with DLD found that poorer performance on tasks involving short-term memory (repetition of non-words and spoken sentences) were strong indicators of the presence of language disorder, with repetition of spoken sentences acting as the most reliable marker of the four.

In this task, participants were required to listen to and repeat, verbatim, spoken sentences of increasing complexity and length. For each item, the participant could score a maximum of three points and a minimum of zero, with extent of errors (in word order, missing words, repetitions, additional words, circumlocutions and substitutions) reflected in the marking: single errors would result in a mark of 2, two or three errors a mark of 1, four or more errors a mark of 0. The test is discontinued after five consecutive 0 scores.

Possible response error patterns in type of sentence construction (active or passive, declarative or interrogative) and clausal and phrasal structure (eg with negative constructions, or subordinate/relative clauses) may also be noted to guide future intervention aims.

The raw score for this assessment is totalled and converted to a scaled subtest score, which then forms a component of the total Core Language Score.

b. Formulated Sentences

This test examines the ability to produce complete spoken sentences that are grammatically and semantically correct. Beginning with simple sentences and progressing to compound and complex sentences. Illustrations are used as a stimulus for production during administration of the subtest.

The participant is required to examine an illustration for context and produce a sentence containing the stimulus word provided by the researcher. Responses are

marked with 2, 1 or 0 points; elicited sentences are marked firstly on structure, then on semantic and syntactic content. A 2-point score is earned for semantically and syntactically correct sentences with a logical, meaningful, complete and grammatically correct sentence. If the sentence has one or two deviations in semantics/syntax but is still structurally sound, it receives one point; a zero score is given if a sentence is incomplete, has more than two semantic/syntactic deviations, is not logical, meaningful or related at all to the picture, or the stimulus word is omitted.

The raw score for this assessment is totalled and converted to a scaled score, which contributes to the total Core Language Score.

More detailed error pattern analysis may also be carried out in terms of word category usage in the elicited sentences, for eg nouns, verbs, adjectives and (conjunctive or non-conjunctive) adverbs, types of conjunction, and phrases (the final four test items).

c. Word Classes 2 (Receptive, Expressive and Total)

The Word Classes 2 test assesses participants' receptive and expressive abilities pertaining to the logical semantic relationships between associated words. These words may be synonyms (eg disaster/catastrophe; renovate/restore), antonyms (eg smooth/rough), have an instrumental association (eg floor/broom) or share a given semantic category (eg conservative/liberal).

This assessment is conducted in two parts. Firstly, in the receptive test, participants are required to listen to four spoken word items and pick two which they think have a semantic link. Their expressive abilities are assessed in the second part where they then explain the association between the chosen words. Antonymic or synonymic relationships between items may be acknowledged by the participant but a more in-depth response— i.e. more detail on how the words relate semantically — is required in order to gain a positive score for an item.

Error responses may be calculated according to semantic class as discussed above.

Raw scores are calculated for both the expressive and receptive parts of the test. These are then each converted to scaled scores (WC-E and WC-R), which are totalled and provide the Word Classes Total (WC-T) scaled score, which contributes to the total Core Language Score.

d. Word Definitions

This task assesses the participant's ability to analyse the semantic features of a given word having been provided with a limited contextual cue, to provide the meaning of a word by reference to its semantic associations and word class, and discuss its semantic scope features (narrow or broad; abstract or concrete).

Participants may score 2, 1 or 0 points for each item; a 2-point score is earned when the participant provides a definition of the word, or discusses the category the word belongs to; the response must also feature one of the specified characteristics as defined on the scoresheet. A 1-point score refers to the item's category or contains one of the defining features as specified; a 0-score does not meet the above criteria and/or may be related to a different word instead.

A raw score is calculated and converted to a scaled score, which contributes to the overall Core Language Score.

Error patterns may be analysed further according to broad semantic category. In the manual, these are specified as Science, Social Studies, Language/Literature/Arts and World/Community Knowledge.

Interpretation of test scores

The CELF-4 provides means to convert Core Language Score results to age equivalent and percentile rank scores in comparison with the typical sample

population; this was not considered appropriate by the researcher due to the majority of participants' ages being beyond the range of the standardised population (age range 17;5-22;10, M=20;1). Language assessment in the research project was intended to demonstrate whether the participant was operating at the ceiling level for the test at or above the expected performance level of a person aged 16;11. Currently there is a scarcity of standardised assessments to measure language abilities of a UK population aged 16-21. The researcher therefore chose the CELF-4 CLS as the language measure for the study given the precedence for its administration in the research literature, for example Hopkins et al. (2018), administering CELF-4 Recalling Sentences and Understanding Spoken Paragraphs subtests with young community offenders (n=52, M=16); Games, Curran and Porter (2012) applied the CELF-4 Core Language Score measure to their sample (n=11, M=14;4). Gregory and Bryan (2011) incorporated CELF-4 subtests (Word Associations, Understanding Spoken Paragraphs and Formulated Sentences) into their assessment battery with incarcerated male offenders (n=58, M=15.15). Most similarly to the current study in terms of offender type and sample size, Sanger et al. (2000b) assessed language abilities of incarcerated female offenders using CELF-3 subtests (n=13, M=15.4y).

4.4.2. Informal justice vocabulary assessment

In the UK, the ability of young people who offend to define the working vocabulary of the justice system has been examined most prominently by Crew and Ellis (2008). As discussed in Chapter 2, this was carried out as part of a larger study into young offenders' language abilities. Their findings have been publicised by the RCSLT (2015), and cited as evidence before the House of Commons Justice Committee (14 March 2013, HC339, para 41) to illustrate the need for greater support for young people with the specialist and often abstract vocabulary commonly used in justice settings. Often in these sources, ability to define key terms is cited, with the reason

given that young people will adopt and use these terms without much knowledge of their meaning and usage:

Many young people “parrot” or repeat commonly used legal terminology, without understand the words. Evidence from Milton Keynes YOT, and backed up by Leeds YOT, showed that young people do not understand much of the vocabulary used in court. Research from Milton Keynes YOT identified a list of words that many young people with communication problems have difficulty understanding, these words are commonly used in the justice system and include “victim” “breach” “guilty” “liable” or “remorse” or “conditional”.

(Justice Committee, 2013)

The researcher attempted to find the Milton Keynes and Leeds YOT studies that replicate the findings of the Bradford study; they do not seem to show the findings cited above. In the Crew and Ellis study (2008) sample size for this portion was small (n=4), and the language profiles of the four participants were varied. One participant was reported as having language abilities in the normal range, two had “severe difficulties” and one had not been assessed for language abilities. The authors report that while participants often recognised the names of the roles of “people in court”, definitions could be confused, with, for example, “magistrate” defined as “the two people who sit next to the judge” and “defence” as “someone who’s trying to show the judges what you’ve done”; other abstract terms were defined erroneously also, for example, “relevant” as “you were there, you did it” and “alleged” whether you understand it or not” (p. 15.) As discussed previously, the authors report that only one of the young people could recognise and adequately explain seven of the 37 terms presented, with all participants confusing some meanings despite showing that they recognised the words. Given that the

assessment was informal and that the sample size was low, these results were not emphasized greatly in the report but have been quoted repeatedly by outside agencies. The researcher attempted to perform a similar informal assessment with this participant group (n=9) with a reduced word list that contained a number of shared items with the Crew and Ellis study and also some new vocabulary items reflecting the difference between judiciaries in Scotland and England.

4.4.2.1. Target vocabulary items

Vocabulary presented to participants was a list of 19 items closely related to the judicial process. Participants were asked what each word meant in turn; some prompts to either produce a synonym, or explain what it meant in context, were given if the participants, for example, expressed a redundant definition by use of the word itself in the first instance.

Words were chosen from a longer list compiled by the Bradford Youth Offending team (Crew and Ellis, 2008) as follows. Some terms were chosen to reflect vocabulary of the Scottish criminal justice system (items 4 and 16), the language of youth offending and criminal justice social work reports (items 6, 8, 9, 10) and the general language of court and police (remainder).

Words used for the current study are in bold. The rationale for selecting these words is discussed further below.

<p><i>Custody; Bail; Compensation; Conditional/unconditional; Adjourn; Revocation; Reparation; Supervision; Concurrent; Impose; Punish; Punishment; Breach; Comply; Offence; Threatening; Conviction; Failing to attend; Liable; Responsible; Relevant; Contract; Attend; Report; "In your defence"; Actions; Attack; Victim; Alleged; Convince; Circumstances; Statement; Remorse; Guilty/not guilty; Magistrate; Solicitor; Legal advisor; Usher; Defence</i></p>

In addition, the following words and terms were added to reflect aspects of the Scottish judicial system:

<i>Procurator Fiscal; Not proven</i>

The following words were also incorporated into the list as all four are common justice vocabulary:

<i>Verdict; Appeal; Conviction; Prosecution.</i>

Each participant was asked to verbally define a list of 19 words related to criminal justice.

4.4.2.2. Scoring

Qualitative verbal responses were provided by participants; the researcher noted the use of tautology (attempting to define the word by using it), use of contextual examples (“held in custody”), and the number of other definitions offered. Terminological distinctions were also noted (eg item 7, between being “convicted” and “remanded”), as was perspective taking on items 14-16, with differentiation of the notion of being found guilty by a court, from feeling guilty about an event or action. Participant responses received a score of 0, 1 or 2, according to pre-defined definitions derived from a variety of easy-read justice glossaries and dictionary definitions (See Appendix Q).

4.5. Semi-structured interview questions: Rationale

Semi-structured interview questions were constructed to align with a Bioecological Systems Theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1994) approach: questions sought to examine the variety and complexity of participants' interactions and relationships in order to encompass a wide range of experiences at the micro- and meso-systemic levels, and, fundamentally, to gain participants' views on the value and significance of effective communication in their lives:

- across locations: the family home; the prison; secure care; primary and secondary school, the courtroom, the police station, Children's Hearing room;
- across time: experiences of schooling, of care, of family life when younger; experiences of (in some cases) consecutive prison sentences, removal to the SRU;
- in describing relationships of varying depths, and interactions of varying durations: with peers considered friends both in the prison environment and in the community; with non-friend peers; with prison staff; with Children's Panel members; with social workers; with family members.
- in describing themselves, how they view their own skills at the present time, and their own ideas and aspirations for their development and learning, for example: educational attainment; effects of the prison on learning or behaviour; aims for the future; feelings about past behaviours.

The semi-structured interview schedule was a modified and broadened version of that compiled by Hopkins et al. (2016) in their interviews with young people on court orders in the community to investigate their views on their own communication and literacy abilities. The scope of the questioning was broadened to encompass, in particular, prison and Children's Hearings interactions alongside community and the courtroom/police settings. It is available in Appendix K.

4.6. Data collection

This section details the data collection process for the study, the ethical and procedural approvals carried out, the inclusionary and exclusionary criteria for the study and other practical details. It then goes on to examine the selection and recruitment process, with some discussion of the practical issues that arose during this phase.

4.6.1. Ethics and permissions

Ethical approval for the study was granted in sequential process by a number of institutional and governing bodies. Firstly, an external National Health Service Research Ethics Committee examined the proposal and application; upon approval from this committee, an internal ethical approval application was then submitted to Queen Margaret University.

4.6.1.1. Ethical approval

Ethical Approval: National Health Service Research Ethics Committee, West of Scotland 3

The ethical approval process to this committee was begun in February 2016 using the IRAS (Integrated Research Application System) online application process. IRAS is a unified online system that allows researchers in health and community care fields to apply for approvals and permissions from the relevant governance bodies. Following ongoing advice from the Specialist SLT at Polmont, an application was prepared and submitted to the West of Scotland 3 Committee in June 2016. The researcher was advised by colleagues in the SLT/justice field that this committee was most appropriate for application as it had previous experience of criminal justice related projects of similar scope.

Following the West of Scotland 3 REC meeting in July 2016, the application was given a provisional favourable opinion upon required completion of minor amendments to supporting documentation and the original research protocol. Upon completion of these amendments by the researcher, a final favourable opinion was provided in July 2016 (see Appendix B).

Ethical approval: Queen Margaret University

Following ethical approval from the West of Scotland 3 REC, an application for the project was submitted to the Speech and Language Therapy Departmental Professor in July 2016. Ethical approval was granted in August 2016 following standard University procedure (see Appendix C).

4.6.1.2. Institutional permissions

This project required permissions to be granted from both the Scottish Prison Service and NHS Forth Valley Research and Development Office. NHS Forth Valley is the local provider for healthcare services at Polmont HMYOI.

The permissions required are detailed below.

Permissions: Scottish Prison Service

The Scottish Prison Service specified a number of training and compliance requirements of the researcher prior to commencement of the study. These are detailed below.

- *Personal Protection Training*
- *Compliance with Research Access Regulations form*

- *Letter of access*
- *Application to use a Laptop Computer in a Scottish Prison CJSW*

Personal Protection Training

As the approved research method involved face-to-face participant interview/assessment and provision of access to accommodation blocks, the researcher underwent mandatory Personal Protection and Assessment, Care in Custody and Teamwork (ACCT) Training. This involved Health and Safety training, awareness of signs of prisoner suicide risk, and adopting physical personal protection techniques when in potentially threatening situations with a prisoner. This training was completed in March 2016.

Compliance with Research Access Regulations

This compliance contract consists of a 10-point list of regulations that must be followed while conducting research at any SPS establishment; it reiterates key ethical considerations (anonymity of participants and confidentiality of information; Data Protection Act (1998) compliance). In addition, the researcher is required to nominate the professional ethical standards to which they are conducting the research. Of interest here in particular is regulation 3, which informs the researcher that all data and materials of any kind that are collected from the Scottish Prison Service are the property of the Crown, and can be held securely for a maximum of five years. Research Access was granted in February 2016. The Compliance contract is included in Appendix D.

Letter of access

Following approval from the SPS Research Access and Ethics Committee in February 2016, a Letter of Access was issued from the Head of Research in April 2016 (see

Appendix E). This letter was provided confirmation of approval for research to go ahead on SPS property and was required in order to progress the Research and Development NHS application.

Application to use a Laptop Computer in a Scottish Prison

Permission from the prison governor is required to bring recording equipment into any Scottish prison. In order to record interviews, the researcher wished to bring in a laptop, desktop microphone and adaptor. Hardware requirements included that the laptop hard drive have “full disk encryption to AES 256 standard”. Other required information included model number, serial number and make of hard drive. Permission was granted in October 2016. This is included in Appendix F.

Permissions: NHS Forth Valley R&D

The following documentation was required in order to be granted permission to carry out research based in the Healthcare Unit of Polmont. As the research project planned to recruit participants using NHS resources and involved potential or existing NHS clients, this was a required process.

- *Protection of Vulnerable Groups membership (PVG – Disclosure)*
- *Research Passport*
- *R&D Application – completed through IRAS*
- *Site-Specific Inventory – completed through IRAS*

Protecting Vulnerable Groups scheme (PVG: Disclosure)

In the R&D application process, proof of membership of Scotland’s Protecting Vulnerable Groups scheme is required. The researcher was already a member of the

PVG Membership Scheme. An amendment was made to the researcher's details where a change of address was required. This was carried out and PVG membership was confirmed by the researcher to the Research and Development Officer in September 2016.

Research Passport

The Research Passport is a requirement for researchers who are not NHS employees but seek to carry out research whether through indirect or direct contact with NHS patients. It is completed by the researcher and their employer. The researcher completed the form as a QMU employee with involvement alongside the university's Human Resources department. The Research Passport was approved by Forth Valley Research and Development Office in September 2016. This is included in Appendix G.

R&D Application form

The IRAS online application process simultaneously fills out relevant sections of the NHS REC and NHS R&D applications to prevent duplication of work for the researcher. However, the order in which forms must be submitted is sometimes difficult to grasp for those not experienced in the process, and the help of the local NHS R&D officer is invaluable in navigating through the process. Agreement from the Service Manager of the Healthcare Unit is required at this stage also. This letter of approval was provided and the application approved by the NHS Forth Valley R&D Office in September 2016 (See Appendix H).

Site-Specific Information form

The SSI application pertained to the fact that the research was occurring on an NHS-based site. The form required the researcher to indicate proposed time spent on the site, and to confirm possession of an authorised NHS Research Passport. This was completed and approved in September 2016.

4.6.2. Inclusionary and exclusionary criteria

The following inclusionary criteria were applied to potential participants at the start of the recruitment procedure and for the purposes of ethical approval. Particularly of interest is the fact that some of these criteria – while assumed by the researcher to be so initially – are not static characteristics; the dynamic nature of attempting to meet more than once in a sometimes emotionally volatile environment, with its own social rules and behaviours meant that some participants' suitability for the criteria, particularly the final points, were more changeable.

- At HMYOI Polmont and accommodated within Dunedin Unit (SRU) of HMYOI Polmont within 2 months of assessment
- Male, aged 16-21
- English as a first language
- Able to give consent to participate in the study
- Able to see contents of standardised assessment materials; able to hear verbal instructions/questions as part of standardised assessment and interview
- Willing to give their views about their communication skills
- Assessed as presenting low risk of personal danger to those around him

Rationales for each of these criteria are discussed below.

At HMYOI Polmont and accommodated within Dunedin Unit (segregation) of HMYOI Polmont within 2 months of assessment

Having discussed the monthly “turnover” of prisoners in Dunedin with the Unit Manager, the two-month point was decided as a cut-off which struck a balance between providing the opportunity for a substantial potential participant pool, and sufficient time for participants to still retain memories of their experience of Dunedin.

Male, aged 16-21

While this criterion seemed obvious in the planning stages given the demographics of the population of the YOI (reported widely as 16-21 years), but this highlights again the crucial differences between the researcher’s prior view of this population and the real population of the institution. Firstly, the methodology would not exclude possible transgender participants: they could identify as male and still be included. Secondly, one participant (James) was aged 22;10 at the time of interview and assessment. Given the small sample size, exclusion of this participant would have been detrimental to the data and analysis, so the researcher made a decision to allow this participant’s data to be included in the final sample.

English as a first language

The CELF-4 language assessment requires English as a first language given the requirement to compare to an English-speaking standardisation population. Other first languages would have been a potentially confounding factor in interpretation of error patterns and deriving the Core Language Score for these participants. The researcher was informed that at the list planning stage, one potential participant was excluded from the list as he spoke Polish as a first language.

Able to give consent to participate in the study

The giving of informed consent is crucial, particularly in doing research with vulnerable populations. A number of measures were in place to ensure that initial consent was informed (by written and spoken means) and checks made to ensure consent was still in place before every meeting.

Able to see contents of standardised assessment materials; able to hear verbal instructions/questions as part of standardised assessment and interview

Due to the nature of the CELF-4 language assessments which used visual and spoken test items, checks needed to be made with participants that they could see/hear the necessary stimuli.

Willing to give their views about their communication skills

This was crucial to participation in the study; while initial consent gave an indication of wishing to do so, this criterion could only be checked when in the interview room.

Assessed as presenting low risk of personal danger to those around him

This was perhaps the most changeable of the criteria. While most participants met this condition all of the time, there were a number of occasions where having called the halls to arrange a meeting, or having come up to halls, an officer suggested that the researcher might postpone the meeting given a participant's emotional state.

Exclusionary criteria: Staff compiling the list of potential participants for all three rounds of recruitment were made aware that potential participants were excluded from the study if English was an additional language, since the CELF-4 language assessments were to be conducted in English only.

4.6.3. Recruitment and selection

Recruitment of participants was carried out in three rounds between December 2016 and April 2017.

For each recruitment round, an initial list of participants meeting the inclusionary criteria was compiled by the Unit Manager of the SRU. Pre-prepared information and consent materials (see Appendix I) were then sent by staff to each participant on the list. Due to ethical considerations concerning data protection outlined by both the NHS R&D officer in the permissions process and the West of Scotland Research Ethics Committee, namely that the identity of potential participants was to be protected until their consent to be involved in the study was gained, the researcher was not able to meet face-to-face with participants to discuss any potential involvement in the study.

This thus required the researcher to contact participants by letter through internal mail. All materials were provided to the Healthcare Unit secretary who addressed letters and sent them to potential participants.

While it had been agreed at the initial meeting planning stages that a member of nursing staff would consult with potential participants who had been contacted by letter to discuss involvement in the study further, it was decided between the Healthcare Unit Manager and researcher that this was not a feasible workload for staff given their other duties. Thus the primary means of contact between researcher and potential participants was a typed letter accompanied by other materials pertaining to the study as detailed below, sent out by the secretary of the

Unit. Materials for the third round of recruitment differed to those in the first two rounds, as detailed below.

4.6.3.1. Recruitment: pre-recruitment activity

Prior to recruitment, the researcher accompanied the prison SLT to all halls with copies of A4 information sheets aimed at prison officers (see Appendix J) to provide some context about the project and the opportunity to chat with them about its aims. Reaction from staff was positive in the majority of halls and some short discussions about language and communication difficulties ensued with officers. Having been forewarned by the literature at the possibility of hostility, the researcher found this was not the impression given. Association with the prison's Healthcare Unit from the start in all correspondence and information, and being accompanied by a the SLT, a recognised and already respected profession within the establishment, lent credence to the project from the beginning, as it offered tacit endorsement of the objectives.

Recruitment: Materials

For rounds one and two of the recruitment process, the following materials were sent to potential participants (See Appendix I):

- Invitation letter
- Information sheet about the study with contact details
- Consent form
- Envelope addressed to Unit Manager, Health Centre

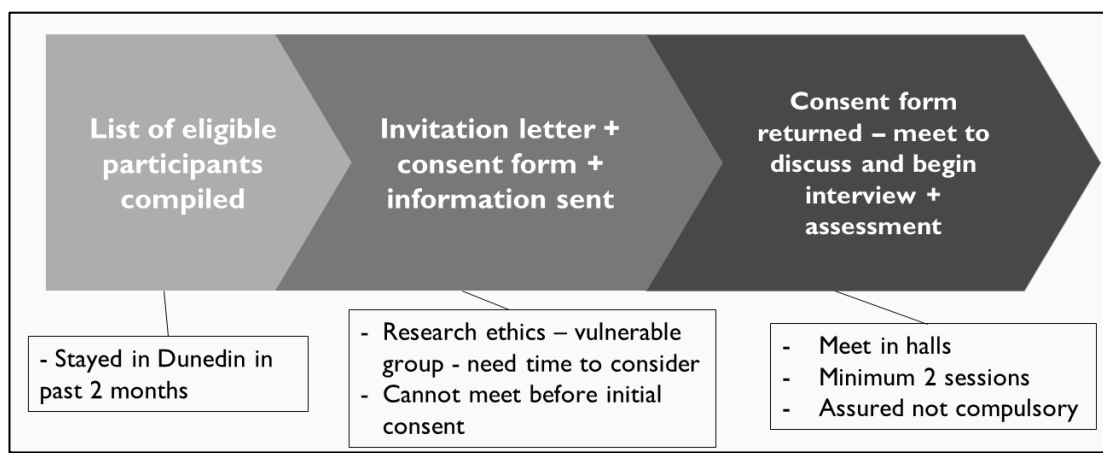


Figure 4.1: Order of Recruitment, Rounds 1 and 2 with rationale

For round three of the recruitment process, a list of eligible participants was compiled by the Unit Manager and the following materials were sent (See Figure 4.2)

- Invitation letter
- Yes/no initial request slip (*instead of consent form*)
- Information sheet
- Envelope addressed to Unit Manager, Health Centre

See Appendix N for a copy of the Yes/no initial request slip.

This modification of materials for the third round of recruitment was motivated by a need to reduce the amount of written information sent to potential participants.

Given the constraints placed on the researcher in terms of meeting potential participants, where information could not be provided in a face-to-face discussion, and the service and time constraints on the SLT and Health Care Unit in meeting with potential participants, this change was considered the best option available. In lieu of the consent form, an appropriately worded paper slip was provided in the materials asking the participant if they wished to take part. The participant was required to tick a box marked either “yes” or “no”, and an appropriate statement of what this decision meant was included.

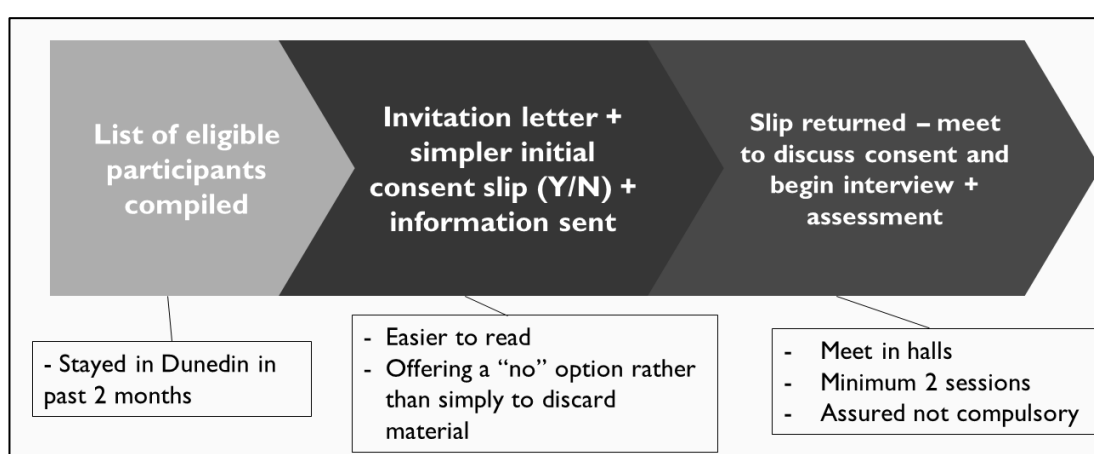


Figure 4.2: Order of Recruitment, Round 3 with rationale

In all three rounds, in order to establish informed consent, the researcher met with those who had expressed initial interest in participation either by returning their consent form or paper slip. Both the researcher and participant went through the information sheet and consent form point by point, with the researcher allowing the participant to read it through himself first if he wished, and ask questions, and then reiterating each point and asking the participant to tell the researcher what it meant. This was an obviously necessary but sometimes somewhat slow step in the process; an enthusiastic, open and flexible approach was vital in this first meeting to maximise participant interest and possibilities of return.

Recruitment Round 1 (R1)

In the first round of recruitment, a total of 37 potential participants were identified by the Unit Manager according to the recruitment criteria. Recruitment letters and information were sent out in internal mail to all 37 potential participants. 5 signed responses were returned from potential participants, giving a response rate of 13.5%. All potential participants were coded at the point of initial indication of interest whether through return of slip or discussion of potential involvement by staff. The extent of involvement in the study is detailed below by participant code assigned by the researcher according to their order of retrieval:

- Y1: remained with the study, underwent full assessment and interview
- Y2: remained with the study, underwent full assessment and interview
- Y3: was liberated before meeting to discuss participation in the study
- Y4: was discussed as a possible participant by a prison officer in halls; this participant was assigned a code but then did not respond further.
- Y5: remained in the study, underwent full assessment and interview
- Y6: was also discussed as a possible participant by a prison officer in the same conversation where Y4's possible involvement was discussed; again, this participant was assigned a code but did not respond further.
- Y7: remained in the study, underwent full assessment and interview

Recruitment Round 2 (R2)

In this round, 24 potential participants were identified according to the recruitment criteria. Recruitment letters and information were sent and 5 responses were returned, giving a return rate of 21%. As in the first round, all potential participants were coded at the point of initial indication of interest whether through return of slip or discussion of potential involvement by staff. Involvement in the study is detailed below by participant code:

- Y8: similarly to Y4 and Y6, a prison officer in this potential participant's hall discussed possible involvement so a code was issued, but no further contact was forthcoming.
- Y9: remained in the study, underwent full assessment and interview
- Y10: carried out a full interview; after three repeated attempts to follow up with language assessment, researcher was informed by a prison officer that Y10 did not want to participate further and left the study. Consent was given to use his interview data at first meeting.
- Y11: carried out two Core Language Score tests but participant decided he did not want to participate further and dropped out; he was liberated the following week.
- Y12: remained in the study, underwent full assessment and interview
- Y13: was transferred to another prison before researcher could meet to discuss the study with him.

Recruitment Round 3 (R3)

In the final round of recruitment, there was a variation in the materials sent to participants as detailed above. 31 potential participants were identified as meeting inclusion criteria. Recruitment letters, request slip and information were sent to participants. 7 responses were returned with interest indicated by the yes/no slip: 6 "Yes" and 1 "No". Discounting the "no" response, this gives a return rate of 19.3%; including the "no" response, this gives a return rate of 22.6%. As in the previous two rounds, potential participants were coded at the point of initial indication of interest whether through return of slip or discussion of potential involvement by staff. Involvement in the study is detailed below by participant code:

- Y14: remained in the study, and underwent full assessment and interview
- Y15: attempts to meet Y15 were made a number of times in the study but were unsuccessful and the researcher was unable to meet before the end date
- Y16: attempts to meet Y16 were made a number of times in the study but were unsuccessful and the researcher was unable to meet before the end date
- Y17: remained in the study and underwent full assessment and interview
- Y18: remained in the study and underwent full assessment and interview
- Y19: was in Dunedin SRU at the time and was unable to participate in assessment or interview

Recruitment: Sample yield

In summary, three rounds of recruitment yielded 19 potential participants by a variety of routes. Of these 19, 8 potential participants were not involved in the study for the following reasons:

- 3 potential participants (as a result of discussion with staff), with no further contact (Y4, Y6, Y8)
- 2 potential participants liberated before face-to-face contact could occur
- 2 potential participants the researcher was unable to meet due to time constraints at the end of the study period
- 1 potential participant that could not be met due to still remaining in Dunedin SRU

The researcher met at least once with the remaining 11 participants (Y1, Y2, Y5, Y7, Y9, Y10, Y11, Y12, Y14, Y17, Y18).

- 9 completed the full interview and assessment profile battery (Y1, Y2, Y5, Y7, Y9, Y11, Y12, Y14, Y17, Y18);

- 2 participants withdrew from the process at differing stages:
 - one expressed no further interest after the interview stage (Y10)
 - one expressed no further interest after incomplete assessment (two subtests) (Y11) and did not wish his results to be used.

Final participant group and pseudonyms

The final coded participant group (n=10) were assigned pseudonyms to maintain participant confidentiality when reporting results. These are displayed in Table 4.1.

Code	Name
Y1	David
Y2	Stephen
Y5	John
Y7	Michael
Y9	Martin
Y10	Andrew
Y12	Alan
Y14	Mark
Y17	James
Y18	Lucas

Table 4.1: Prior participant codes and assigned pseudonyms

These pseudonyms are used throughout the rest of the thesis to refer to individual participants.

4.6.3.2. Extensions to study

The study duration was extended twice in order to maximise recruitment opportunities:

- From original end date of 1 Dec 2016 to 30 March 2017
- From 30 March 2017 to 31 April 2017.

On both occasions, a request was first made informally via email to the Governor and Head of Research at SPS by the researcher's PhD Supervisor. Upon receiving approval from both parties, an application was then made to the NHS REC and NHS Forth Valley R&D for an end date change. Approval was gained by the Head of Health Sciences at Queen Margaret University; the Head assessed the request as a minor amendment to the protocol, which was updated accordingly in March 2017. Amendments were approved by the NHS REC in March 2017 (See Appendix L). NHS Forth Valley R&D sent acknowledgement of these changes by letter (Appendix M).

Other documentation such as the letter and information sheets were updated accordingly only to reflect the end date change to the study. In the case of the second extension (30 March – 31 April 2017), this coincided with a third and shorter round of recruitment as detailed above where the modification of materials sent to participants was also requested and approved.

4.6.4. Equipment

For the process of data collection all interviews and assessments were audio recorded on a *b-crypt* password-protected Hewlett-Packard EliteBook Pro laptop, using a U851R AudioTechnica unidirectional boundary condenser microphone with adapter. All interviews were recorded on Audacity software.

For the assessment portion of the data collection: CELF-4 Stimulus Books; CELF-4 (9-16) Record Sheet; pens; blank paper for notes.

For vocabulary assessment: list of target vocabulary words; pens; blank paper for notes.

For interview: Semi-structured interview schedule; pens; blank paper for notes.

The researcher also brought a field notes diary to all sessions in order to record any observations or thoughts about the data collection session before or after the session had ended.

4.6.5. Gaining and maintaining access: procedure and location

Gaining and maintaining access to participants was relatively informal, which had its own set of disadvantages and advantages for the flow of the data collection process. Having received the consent form (R1/R2) or slip (R3), the researcher then arranged to meet the participant by making an appointment through the Healthcare Unit to meet the participant in halls. Either one or two subsequent visits would then ensue with participants to ensure that they were willing to take part in the study and to obtain informed consent.

In the original plan for the meeting process, it was envisaged that examination rooms in the Healthcare Unit would be used in order to meet participants. However, the logistics of this were much more difficult in practice than first assumed and so the plan was changed for two primary resourced-based reasons examined below:

- *Staff capacity to accommodate prisoner movement to the Healthcare Unit*
- *Pressures of accommodation*

Staff capacity to accommodate prisoner movement to the Healthcare Unit

All prisoners coming to the Healthcare Unit require accompaniment by “runners”, i.e. accompanying prison officers a number of prison officers. Given that much of the equipment for medical, dental or nursing care is contained in these Unit rooms, this makes sense. It was however clear that those non-medical members of the Healthcare Unit did not use the rooms in the same way; they were much more likely to go out to halls (in the case of addiction workers, for example) or use their own offices (eg psychological services, SLT) for meetings. While the use of the SLT office was discussed, the research was ongoing at a time when the SLT office was being moved, which was taking some time, and so it was decided that the quickest and easiest solution – requiring the least use of resources – would be for the researcher to go up to the halls himself.

Pressures of accommodation

With the new intake of women prisoners from HMP Cornton Vale in October/November 2016, the Healthcare Unit was experiencing pressures on accommodation of new patients. As mentioned above, some services had a requirement for use of the rooms in the Unit while other services could be more flexible. Given that the research required no specialist equipment and the assessments and laptop could be easily carried, it was decided between the SLT and researcher that it would be less intrusive on other service delivery priorities if the researcher used meeting rooms in the halls instead.

Using meeting rooms in the halls for interview and assessment had its own set of difficulties and advantages; one clear advantage was the degree of informality inherent in using meeting rooms. Whereas the original plan to meet in the Healthcare Unit – involving use of officers and time taken to get to the Unit – meant that the participant was coming to the researcher to be involved, requiring effort and time on their part too before even arriving at the Unit, the researcher coming

to their halls, where the work could be carried out in less time and with less effort on their part, seemed to work well in terms of participant engagement. Sessions were nearly always ended because of the natural end of a task or another event or appointment was about to begin. It was rare for a participant to state that they had had enough and wanted to go.

However, there were clear disadvantages to the process. Having been advised about calling officers beforehand, the researcher always made sure to phone the relevant hall. This sometimes, however, could be a highly unpredictable process, with officers informing the researcher that were participants variously at other appointments, or in court, or at a funeral; sometimes the officer reported that the participant was not up yet or not feeling well. On those occasions, the researcher asked the officer's advice about coming down to the hall again that day. Officers would give their view and the researcher would make plans to meet the participant accordingly.

4.6.6. Administration and interview: order of presentation

When considering the order of data collection, the researcher made the decision to carry out interviews with participants prior to assessment sessions in order to establish rapport with them before moving into the administration of the CELF-4 Core Language subtests, which could be regarded as a possibly less engaging phase of the data collection process. Table 4.2 details the numbers of interview sessions, interview duration, number of assessment sessions, and order of administration of subtests/assessment for each participant in sessions.

Pseudonyms are used henceforth in all main text and tables.

Name	Interview sessions (n)	Interview duration (m)	Assessment sessions (n)	CELF-4/vocabulary order of administration
David	1	35m	3	Session 1: RS, WC Session 2: WD, FS Session 3: JVA
Stephen	2	57m (11m/46m)	1	Session 1: RS, WC, WD, FS, JVA
John	1	44m	1	Session 1: RS, WC, WD, FS, JVA,
Michael	1	21m	1	Session 1: RS, WC, WD, FS, JVA
Martin	1	30m	1	Session 1: RS, WC, FS, WD, JVA
Andrew	1	22m	-	N/A
Alan	1	31m	2	Session 1: RS, WC, WD Session 2: FS, JVA
Mark	2	28m (12m/16m)	1	Session 1: RS, WC, WD, FS, JVA
James	1	77m	1	Session 1: RS, FS, WD, WC, JVA
Lucas	1	42m	2	Session 1: RS, WD Session 2: WC, FS, JVA
	Min	21m		
	Max	77m		
	Mean	39m		
	Total (m)	387m		

Table 4.2: Number of interview sessions, duration of interview (minutes), number of assessment sessions, order of administration of CELF-4 and vocabulary order of administration

Interviews ranged in duration from 21 minutes to 77 minutes, with a mean duration of 39 minutes. Six hours and 27 minutes of interview recordings were collected. On two occasions, interviews were split over two sessions; once due to a technical difficulty where a recording ended unexpectedly after 11 minutes (Stephen) and once due to other commitments arising with the unexpected arrival of another professional (Mark). In the case of the interview recording with Stephen, the interview was restarted in the second session.

All subtests and assessments were administered (four CELF-4 CLS, and justice vocabulary assessment) to nine participants. One participant, Andrew, did not consent to taking part in the assessment part of the study. For six out of nine

participants, all subtests were administered in one session, with two participants requiring two sessions and one requiring three sessions for administration. Prior to sessions, the assessment administration was planned in the following order (see table for key to abbreviations): RS, WC, WD, FS and JVA. This was mostly adhered to with occasional changes due to time constraints or in response to participant reactions to their perceived performance.

4.7. Participant demographics and characteristics

Table 4.3 details the designated participant code and alias for the purposes of the study, age, ethnic category, available information on sentence status at the time of the study and reported previous experience of speech and language therapy involvement.

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Sentence status	SLT Experience
David	19;8	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No
Stephen	17;5	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No
John	20;11	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No
Michael	20;9	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No
Martin	19;11	White Caucasian	On remand	No
Andrew	20;11	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No
Alan	20;6	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No
Mark	17;10	White Caucasian	Sentenced	Yes (in custody)
James	22;10	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No
Lucas	20;3	White Caucasian	Sentenced	No

Table 4.3: Name (pseudonym), age, ethnicity, sentence status and reported SLT experience.

All participants identified as male and were of white Caucasian ethnicity, as established by prison records. Participant age was noted at time of interview and corroborated by referral to prison records (PR2 System). This figure is in close alignment with recent Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research (SCCJR) figures on the ethnicity of prisoners in Scotland where the population is 98% white (SCCJR, 2015).

4.7.1. Offence History

All available data on offence history was obtained from Criminal Justice Social Work reports and the PR2 Database is detailed in Table 4.3. Data in italics and bold type in the Offence History column was provided by participants during interview; no data was available from the PR2 Database or available Criminal Justice Social Work reports to corroborate this information.

Name	Offence History
David	12+ convictions: drug possession and supply, offensive weapon, motoring, public order, breach of bail
Stephen	possession of knife, heroin
John	No data available
Michael	21 convictions; 17 court appearances: breach of bail, threatening behaviour, assault to severe injury, resisting and obstructing arrest, vandalism, dishonesty, theft
Martin	At Polmont on 12 occasions: longest sentence 2 years
Andrew	17 occasions in court with offence of assault, breach of the peace, theft, a number of breaches of a community payback order and one of drug misuse
Alan	No data available
Mark	assault to injury
James	assault to injury, breach of bail, breach of probation and anti-social behaviour, misuse of drugs, police assault and road traffic offences, breach of community payback order, domestic assault, assault to permanent disfigurement, and sexual offences. To date he has 25 convictions for 37 offences.
Lucas	13 convictions 2 index offences, primarily public order offences history of breaching bail orders

Table 4.4. Available offence history by participant

4.7.2. Academic qualifications

Prior academic qualifications were difficult to obtain from available records. Using PR2, Criminal Justice Social Work Reports and interview data, information was available in the case of seven participants: “no qualifications” (n=2); “some standard grades” or “some qualifications” (n=2); specific Standard Grade Maths, Access English and Intermediate level Hospitality (n=1), Scottish Qualification in Catering (n=1) and in interview, “maths” were reported (n=1). PR2 shows that all but one participant gained at least two qualifications while at Polmont. Table 4.5 shows that the majority (n=8) attained two qualifications in Numeracy and Communications: in Numeracy, National 2 (n=4) and National 3 (n=4); in Communications, SCQF Level 2 (n=2), Level 3 (n=1) and Level 5 (n=5). One participant completed an ASDAN Short Course in Performing Arts and attained a Numeracy qualification at National 4 level.

Name	Qualifications	Age left school?	School exclusion?	Alternative provision?	Qualifications at Polmont
David	None	14	Yes	Yes	SCQF 2 - Numeracy; SCQF 2 - Comms
Stephen	-	14	Yes	Yes - refused to attend	SCQF 5 - Comms; SCQF 2 - Numeracy
John	Maths (SG6) English (A3) Hospitality (I1)	-	-	Yes	SCQF 5 - Comms; SCQF 3 - Numeracy
Michael	None	13/14	-	-	No engagement with Education
Martin	-	12	Yes	-	SCQF 5- Comms; SCQF 3 - Numeracy;
Andrew	"some qualifications"	12/13	-	-	SCQF 2 - Comms SCQF 3 - Numeracy
Alan	Maths	-	-	Behavioural schools	SCQF 5 - Comms; SCQF 2 - Numeracy
Mark	-	-	-	-	SCQF 3 - Comms; SCQF 3 - Numeracy
James	"some SGs"	-	Frequent	-	SQA Numeracy N4; ASDAN Short course
Lucas	SQ Catering	from P5 (~10y)	Expelled - disruptive behaviour	Behavioural schools	SCQF 5 - Comms SCQF2 - Numeracy

Table 4.5: Reported qualifications obtained, school leaving age, exclusion status, reported alternative provision, qualifications gained by participant

4.7.3. Looked-after and Children's Hearings System experience

Data on looked-after experience and experience of the Children's Hearings System was available for nine participants and is summarised in Table 4.6. One participant had no looked-after experience (12%), and eight (88%) were reported as having looked-after experience either by self-report during interview (n=3, 33%) or from Criminal Justice Social Work Reports (n=3). Accommodation settings were reported as secure care (n=3), foster care/secure (n=1), foster care (n=2) and residential school (n=1). In summary, a minimum of 80% of the sample had looked-after experience, with all of these participants having been accommodated away from home for at least part of their experience.

Name	Looked-after experience?	CHS Experience?	Accommodation type
David	N	N	-
Stephen	Y	Y	Secure
John	-	-	-
Michael	Y	Y	-
Martin	Y	Y	Secure
Andrew	Y	Y	Foster care/Secure
Alan	Y	Y	Secure
Mark	Y	Y	Residential
James	Y	Y	Foster care
Lucas	Y	Y	Foster care

Table 4.6: Looked-after experience, Children's Hearings experience and accommodation type by participant

4.7.4. Psychiatric diagnoses and substance use

Data around psychiatric diagnoses and substance use were partial and were derived from physical medical records and the PR2 database. Available data are summarised in Table 4.7.

Name	Other obs/diagnoses	MH difficulties?	Substance use
David	mild learning difficulty	attachment disorder	Valium; cannabis; legal highs; diazepam
Stephen	ADHD	none reported	Since age 11/12: alcohol; Age 14: cannabis; legal highs, cocaine, valium, amphetamine
John	-	depression attempted suicide	-
Michael	ADHD	none reported	cocaine and alcohol use
Martin	anger issues	-	-
Andrew	no psych diagnosis but takes anti-psychotic and anti-depressive medication	-	-
Alan	-	not disclosed	-
Mark	significant literacy issues; attention and concentration;	self-harm	-
James	personality disorder;	-	none
Lucas	antisocial personality trait; poor self-control, acts impulsively	self-harm, overdose, mental health instability	alcohol

Table 4.7. Observed diagnoses, mental health conditions and substance use by participant

4.8. Conclusions

This chapter has described the methodology applied in carrying out the research project and highlights in particular the necessity of flexibility to unexpected change, and sensitivity to the expectations of others involved in the research process. This guided the researcher's approach to carrying out the project. This chapter has described the background to the methodology chosen for this research project and has provided an overview of the "pains and gains" of doing prison research. It has offered a justification for the choice of assessment and scope of the questions chosen in the interview portion of the study, with discussion of the theoretical basis of the construction of the interview schedule. It provides an account of the permissions and ethical approval necessary and how these were achieved. The choices made during data collection within the confines of the prison environment are discussed. It provides an account of the issues encountered in managing and balancing ethical considerations when recruiting participants, carrying out the assessment and interviews and ends with an overview of the participants' main demographic and personal characteristics relevant to the study.

CHAPTER 5: *Thematic Analysis*

5.1. Introduction

A thematic analysis approach (Braun and Clarke, 2006) to the interview data was employed in this study. Braun and Clarke (2006) define thematic analysis as a “method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data” (p. 79). The thematic analysis method is an appropriate fit for this study as it allowed a flexible and dynamic approach to the interview data to be taken; the researcher aimed to capture the richness of the discussions with participants and the complexity of the interrelated influences that affected their interactions with peers and authority figures within the justice system.

5.2. Rationale for thematic analysis approach

The researcher considered a content analysis approach to the interview data at the planning stage. However, while thematic and content analysis have the same aim of examining qualitative narrative materials by descriptive means, thematic data analysis, with its greater emphasis on description of nuance and meaning, is more suited to this project. A key component of content analysis is the quantitative description of these narratives by use of word, phrase, theme and/or category frequencies to build the case for the importance of these components, which, as Vaismoradi et al. (2013) state, “cautiously may stand as a proxy for significance” (p. 404). The decision to reject a content analysis approach on this occasion for this project was also pragmatic: the nature of language and communication difficulties in the general young offender population is already firmly established. A quantitative approach to the data generated by this participant group, e.g. a count of frequency of word or phrases used, would not necessarily allow the researcher to reflect the richness of opinion and breadth of experience these young men had to

offer and would not necessarily take into account the range of language and communication abilities and difficulties experienced by the young men.

While thematic and content analysis are often considered “entry-level” forms of analysis for qualitative researchers in the field, as Vaismoradi et al. (2013) say, “this does not mean that they necessarily produce simple and low quality findings”; the stages of data analysis and a reflective approach, however, are crucial to the themes of the data becoming apparent in order to avoid a popular criticism that “anything goes” (Antaki et al, 2002) with this method.

5.3. Thematic analysis: Defining terms

In this section, the terminology used in the remainder of the thesis for the qualitative thematic analysis process and discussion of findings is discussed. The notion of coding is examined, followed by how codes are gathered into themes, and the importance of sample size and methodological approach taken.

5.3.1. Coding

A code is defined by Boyatzis (1998) as “the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon” (p. 63). The purpose of the coding process is to organise the data according to perceived commonalities (whether semantic, or latent, i.e. underlying) into meaningful groups (Tuckett, 2005).

The subsequent themes arising from the coding process may be organised at a semantic or latent level. Analysis at a semantic level is explicit and descriptive, where a researcher does not analyse beyond what has been communicated by the participant (whether spoken or written) and does not attempt to relate the selected themes to underlying social processes. Analysis of latent themes, in contrast, attempts to look at underlying patterns and their implications and is more aligned

with a post-positivist or social constructionist epistemological approach than an essentialist or empiricist one; the coding and thematic process for this study will adopt a *latent themes* perspective, attempting to examine relationships between the codes and themes selected and the reported views and behaviours of individuals within the prison environment.

While Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to “semantic” or “latent” coding, following their guidance, the interview data was coded for “as many potential themes and patterns as possible” inclusively. All data extracts could receive more than one code depending on their relevance to the research questions and aims; other sections of text may not be coded at all, if not deemed relevant to the research content and aims.

5.3.2. What is a theme?

In a literature review of 27 qualitative nursing studies, DeSantis and Ugarriza (2000) critically examined the notion of the theme, concluding that the definitions provided were “largely uninformative” or, in fact, “a definition of thematic analysis” (p. 354); the term “theme” is expressed implicitly and explicitly among the texts as something that “captures the essence” or “comes from categories”. Themes are mostly described in the surveyed literature as tacit and implied rather than direct and explicit, as “emerging” from the data, but as the authors point out, this is at odds with the reality of the process itself, where “themes” do not spontaneously fall out or appear suddenly; this echoes the views of Braun and Clarke (2006), referring to this characterization of the process as “passive account of the process” which “denies the active role” of the researcher in their identification, acceptance and rejection of possible themes. As Ely et al. (1997) point out, this assumption that themes “reside” in the data is mistaken primarily because such themes “reside” in our heads from our thinking about our data” (p. 205-6).

DeSantis and Ugarriza also call into question the conceptual scope of some discovered “themes”. Can “interpersonal relationships” really be described as a theme of the research, given the fact that such relationships occur in any situation where two or more people interact? If themes, as the authors specify are “ideas, expressions, constants, or guiding principles that direct behaviour across multiple situations, that serve to unite or explain large portions of data, or that capture the essence or meaning of experience” (p. 356), can “gender roles”, “anger” or “problem solving” be described as such, or are they a priori categories into which large or small chunks of data can be neatly fitted? The authors found that a tendency towards identifying “general areas or domains of inquiry” and referring to them as “themes” was a constant in the literature reviewed.

Having performed a content analysis from a variety of sources – interdisciplinary definitions, general qualitative research text definitions and specific nursing-based qualitative definitions – the authors arrived at their own definition of theme, thus: “A theme is an abstract entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent experience and its variant manifestations. As such, a theme captures and unifies the nature or basis of the experience into a meaningful whole.” (p. 362).

Bazeley (2009) makes the point that researchers often gloss over the detail of the process of thematic identification in the description of methods, and efforts to integrate the themes that are subsequently identified are sometimes lacking, with no attempt to coalesce these themes into a coherent or comprehensive model. Terminological confusion also reigns in the literature, with *category*, *concept* and *theme* often used interchangeably. Methods of reporting themes, i.e. whether or not to use frequencies, and tendencies to overemphasise possibly unrepresentative quotes, are also pitfalls for a researcher new to thematic analysis. The purely descriptive “garden path” analysis is, according to Bazeley, “a pleasant pathway that leads nowhere (...) Themes only attain full significance when they are linked to form a coordinated picture or an explanatory model” (p. 9). Bazeley provides a three-step “describe, compare, relate” formula to aid working with and recording analysis of

qualitative interview data., with the researcher aiming to describe the context of the study, and provide relevant details on the sources of data; “themes” should be described in terms of its characteristics and its limitations and boundaries.

Having begun to arrange the themes and codes, *comparing* data across groups or individuals – maybe by age group, status or experience – can offer new variations and associations to explore, with a lack of variation also regarded as significant. As further themes are presented, the goal is to relate them to one another in order to produce a more unified and comprehensive picture, rather than a set of atomised or superficially connected themes.

Bazeley is of the view that the identification of themes is not the end goal of analysis, and fails the above five-point test. Attempting to integrate and connect the themes into a comprehensive whole provides a much sounder basis not only for future research in the area but to interested stakeholders who will require interpretation of results and at least an indication by the researcher as to their significance.

5.3.3. Sample size and method

Sandelowski (1995), discussing the sample size of qualitative research projects, points out that the number of participants will need to be sufficiently small to allow management of the materials generated while large enough to allow “a new and richly textured understanding of experience” (p. 179). While power calculations will provide an upper and lower range of required participant numbers in the case of quantitative studies, evidenced rationale for cut-off points in qualitative projects are harder to come by. Braun and Clarke (2006) discuss small, medium and large projects and ascribe group sizes to each: small projects require 6-10 participants; medium requiring 10-50, and a large project estimated at 400 or more participants. No evidence is given for these figures, and it may be argued that a circularity of

thinking is on display here, with “project size” itself only determined by the seemingly arbitrary and relative figure chosen.

As pointed out by Fugard and Potts (2015) in an article providing the qualitative researcher with some guidance on this issue, another way of determining participant numbers is when “theoretical saturation” is reached (Glaser, 1965). In support of this, the experimental approach applied by Guest et al. (2006) using 60 interview participants found that after 12 interviews, saturation had been reached on the main themes: “For most research enterprises (...) in which the aim is to understand common perceptions and experiences among a group of relatively homogeneous individuals, twelve interviews should suffice” (p. 79). However, given the array of life experiences and views participants may offer to the qualitative researcher, and the wide range in of detail that such a researcher may adopt in describing and analysing them, whether methods adopted are on a rolling or static basis, this figure seems akin to any other arbitrary rule of thumb one may adopt. Where access is time limited, and difficult to guarantee, adopting Sandelowski’s pragmatic model of what is manageable and allows an understanding is viewed by the researcher as an appropriate approach for this study.

5.4. Data analysis

Braun and Clarke (2006) specify six stages to the analysis process:

1. *Familiarising self with the data*
2. *Generating initial codes*
3. *Searching for themes*
4. *Reviewing themes*
5. *Defining and naming themes*
6. *Producing the report*

The researcher was aware of these stages before data collection and followed this process in the course of the data analysis as closely as possible. The process itself is

often described in the literature as being iterative and reflexive in nature. This aligned with the researcher's experience. Rather than completing one phase before moving on to the next, the researcher found that analysis involved frequent and often quite complex revisiting of previous phases where further ideas or subthemes arose and needed further interrogation. This was particularly the case between phases 1 and 2 – familiarising self with data and generating initial codes, and in 5 – defining and naming themes, as outlined below. Each stage is now discussed with reference to the interview data analysis process for the current study.

1. Familiarising self with the data

Interviews were transcribed into Word 2013 by the researcher over a number of weeks and each read four times before coding began. This process of familiarisation with the data has been described by Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) as an interpretative act in itself; Bird (2005) sees the transcription process as “a key phase of data analysis” (p. 227) which provides the first opportunity for the closer reading required for the next phase.

The researcher has much experience of transcription and production of texts from audio sources from previous employment as a TV subtitler, so this was a relatively fast process. Voice to text transcription was attempted in the initial stages of the process but was found to be a time-costly and unproductive means of data capture. The amount of time taken to transcribe all ten interviews was variable given the range of durations between interviews (with the shortest at 21 minutes with Michael, the longest at 77 minutes with James). Sutton (2015) offers a guide of around 8 hours to transcribe a 45-minute interview; this estimate was borne out in the researcher's experience with this dataset.

Given that a thematic analysis operates at a more abstract, rather than structural or concrete linguistic level than, for example, narrative or discourse analysis, a decision needed to be made about whether to carry out close or broad transcription of the

data. A number of different approaches were considered and rejected: “Jeffersonian” forms of notation that are often used in conversational analysis (Jefferson, 2004; Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998) of paralinguistic features were considered too detailed and inappropriate for the purposes of the research project: the researcher made the decision that the time needed to transcribe the data at this level and the relatively small gains derived from this, given the broader thematic approach adopted, was not feasible.

As Braun and Clarke (2006) state, “thematic analysis, even constructionist thematic analysis, does not require the same level of detail in the transcript as conversation, discourse or even narrative analysis” (p. 85). Conversely, a condensed or essence “gisting” approach (Evers, 2011) – where “highlights” of utterances are offered using ellipses – was not considered appropriate as it was considered to rely too heavily on researcher editing decisions in early stages of a data analysis where full text would be necessary in order to capture themes.

While it is not without its own set of methodological difficulties (Halcomb and Davidson, 2006; Wellard and McKenna, 2001; Poland, 1995), verbatim transcription of interview data was the chosen method for this research project. Given that a primary aim is to gain participant views and the research focus is on the language and communication skills of young people, a verbatim approach, with its attempt at “word-for word reproduction of verbal data” (Halcomb and Davidson, 2006, p. 38) was considered most appropriate, however, with some stylistic and editing considerations. The researcher decided to preserve all non-standard language usage and dialect; repetitions, hesitations, pauses and backchannels were also included.

In addition, any contextual or non-lexical additions (laughter, coughing, noise from outside that provoked reaction either from the interviewee or researcher) were also included. Pauses, hesitations, back-channels and tone of voice were preserved in transcription where they served the content of the interviewee’s point, e.g. a sarcastic tone or a hesitation while the interviewee gathered his thoughts. Temptations to “clean up” the text were resisted. Written transcription of

interviews may be regarded as a useful introductory “pre-stage” procedure that allows the researcher some initial familiarisation (Gale et al. 2013). Occasionally some parts of the audio recording were too difficult to hear due to a simultaneous environmental noise or a participant not speaking clearly – these were noted as (???) in the transcribed text. This was an unsatisfactory but occasionally unavoidable consequence of conducting interviews in a main hall interview room with no control over the occasional environmental noise outside (shouting, doors slamming, and so on).

All interview data was transcribed by the researcher from audio recordings once the full rounds of 10 interviews were complete; no additional transcribers were involved due to the discussion of confidential personal data within interviews and boundaries set by the ethical approval process.

Once all 10 interviews had been transcribed, the researcher entered the first phase of analysis – familiarisation with the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This involved repeated listening to interviews and reading of transcripts. Braun and Clarke recommend reading through the entirety of the transcribed data at least once; the data, given the relatively small number of participants, was read three times by the researcher. In the second and third readings, these were checked against the audio recordings to ensure minimal missing data and to give as much of a “fresh ear” approach to those excerpts that had seemed unclear at the transcription phase. Throughout all readings a reflexive approach was taken to the interview process and the researcher noted reflections on his own contribution to the interviews as well as ways in which improvements could have been made to the interview process, e.g. in asking follow-up questions or keeping to topic.

During the interview phase, the researcher also recorded ongoing comments and reflections on interviews and main topics of discussion in a field notes diary. The researcher re-read these notes to inform his thinking throughout the second phase of the process.

2. Generating initial codes

Data was uploaded into NVivo10 and initial coding begun. Some data (phrases and paragraphs) was assigned meaningful codes. In this phase, the researcher worked with the data in a twofold coding process. Both a “ground-up”/deductive and then more subjective/inductive approach to the data were adopted in succession as outlined below. In both iterations of the process, the researcher adhered to Braun and Clarke’s recommendation (p. 19) to:

- Maximise coding to as many themes and patterns as is possible due to (at this stage) not being aware what other points of interest might be found further on in the process
- Be inclusive in coding, to ensure as much contextual data is included so as to keep the integrity of the original data
- Be inclusive of individual data extracts, coding to more than one if considered appropriate.

The process of coding was highly iterative and reflexive, and took place in two phases, which took around a year in total. Each phase is discussed below.

Generating initial codes: Coding iteration 1

The researcher was new to qualitative data analysis and through the first iteration of the coding, used the process not only to gain further insight into the data but to work more effectively with NVivo10 and to make notes on emerging ideas for themes and patterns in the data. This first coding iteration went ahead in a mostly exploratory and “bottom-up” approach following the guidance provided by Braun and Clarke above. This continued for a period of around five months from September 2017 until February 2018. In this first round of coding, a total of 587 codes were generated from the ten interview sources (see Appendix O).

Generating initial codes: Coding iteration 2

Following on from when full coding was complete, the researcher reflected on the process and decided that a further more subjective and theoretical recoding was necessary using the coding data from the first iteration. Within the second process, the researcher made the decision to amalgamate and merge the first iteration codes in order to reflect how they may relate more closely to the topics of the research questions. The first iteration of coding was extremely useful for gaining further insight and familiarisation with the data (a melding of phases 1 and 2 as mentioned above) and beginning the process of considering emerging themes; merging and patterning these separate codes into superordinate categories gave the researcher the opportunity to reappraise the data but in a manner that was informed by the initial coding process, rather than “from scratch”. Instead this second process allowed the opportunity to refine the coding by aligning it more to the research questions. In this iteration, which lasted from March 2018 until June 2018, codes were given more abbreviated titles with descriptive notes about their meaning. A list of codes from Iteration 2 is included in Appendix P.

In summary, two full coding iterations were carried out in the first stages of data analysis. The first as an exploratory “bottom-up” process which also acted as a familiarisation process. This then informed the second iteration, where formation of superordinate, subjective categorical codes occurred, with the intention of capturing topics and ideas more closely aligned with the project research questions. These often centred around participants’ interactions with peers and authority figures, their feelings, emotions and expectations about these interactions, and views about their own subjective experiences of present and historical interactions within a variety of settings.

Two examples of coding of extracts, with data extract and both coding iterations, is included below in Table 5.1.

Data extract	Coding iteration 1	Coding iteration 2
James: (...) I was a little shit. I got excluded.. I was alright up until second year. From about the end of second year until fourth year, I got excluded all the time. Got excluded about 40 times from high school. I skived all the time, this is when I was in amongst all this drug selling and everything like that, and I went to a good high school, you know, I went to (high school name), dunno if you've ever heard of it in (place) and I went there (no) and er, but the good thing was I was always like, I never, like, I skived like, my attendance rate was 30% or something, really bad, er, but I never ever missed, I never skived any of my prelims or Math NABS or any of my exams (...) (114)	School – exclusions School – examination School – behaviour School – qualifications School – attitude to schoolwork School – attendance	SchNotAtt SchExp SchQual SchPermExcAge
David: They take it quite easily on me in court. Cos of my learning difficulties, aye, they don't... I'd say that's why I don't get big sentences to be honest with you cos my lawyer obviously...I've got a good lawyer and he's obviously putting me down as extremely...learning difficulties and that, know what I mean, so I think the judge knocks a good bit of time off my sentence first, cos of that, know what I mean? (186)	Poor understanding – consequences Understanding – Court – support Learning difficulty – others' view Learning difficulty Understanding – support – lawyer Being understood – court	InstitUnd CourtJud AFLaw AFJud ASupportCom ASupport

Table 5.1: Examples of data extracts and corresponding Coding Iterations 1 and 2

3. Searching for themes

The researcher wrote extensive notes about possible themes, ideas, associations and connections between codes in order to begin the process of theme

formulation. This was an ongoing process throughout both coding iterations, with codes being collated to form “proto-themes”.

For example, the Iteration 1 codes of “Loss of face” and “Keeping your head down” described approaches to social and personal interactions in the prison environment. These were also associated with Iteration 1 codes “Respect”, “Communication – avoidance”, “Arguments – avoidance” and “Community – avoiding trouble”. For Iteration 2, the pooled codes from Iteration 1 were organised and refined into higher-level proto-themes around “Avoidance” which captured the experience of participants not only in the prison environment but also in the community (PrisAvoidComm – statement “Statement describing choice to avoid interaction in prison” and ComAvoidComm – statement “Statement about avoiding interaction while out in the community”). In this way, Iteration 1 codes that shared common concepts were organised together into higher level Iteration 2 proto-themes. From these collections of Iteration 2 proto-themes, the main themes were collated.

4. Reviewing themes

As the researcher coded and recoded the interview data and began to form increasingly coherent proto-themes, for example “Avoidance”, “Negotiation” and “Confrontation”, these were reviewed and collated in a number of different combinations until a coherent pattern was formulated that encompassed as much of the relevant data as possible. These proto-themes eventually formed the basis for the formulation at the sub-theme level of the three main themes. A mindful approach was taken of ensuring that any themes that were formulated were meaningful reflections of the young men’s lived experience, so when subthemes were placed together to form a coherent whole, the researcher returned many times to the transcribed interview data itself to check that they had resonance with the attitudes and views expressed by the young men themselves about their abilities and difficulties, balancing this with the researcher’s view. For example,

Subtheme A6 *Attempting to Change* emerged at the point of review of themes; the researcher went back to the data and recoded around this concept.

5. *Defining and naming themes*

The researcher kept very detailed notes of the themes. A key guiding principle that helped to apply boundaries to the thematic analysis was their relevance to the research questions. Importantly, however, the researcher was mindful that the themes, while clearly enabling the research questions to be answered as fully as possible given the data provided in interview, should not simply be responses to the questions posed, e.g. “interactions with peers”, “interactions with authority figures”. A one-to-one corresponding question-answer structure between research questions and themes is not a primary goal of carrying out thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Themes were named and defined in a large number of iterations before the final theme names and conceptual scope were arrived at.

Main themes were subsequently defined as:

- Theme A: Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning
- Theme B: Exerting Control
- Theme C: Seeking Support.

These themes, and their corresponding subthemes, are examined in Chapter 7.

6. *Producing the report*

In the final stage, as Braun and Clarke recommend, the themes were formulated into a broad narrative. The researcher found this stage the most difficult to end as formulation and reformulation can theoretically go on indefinitely: the temptation to re-align themes in case anything had been missed had to be resisted. There was some further movement after stage 5 which resulted in Theme D being incorporated into Theme A as it had greater conceptual affiliation there, rather than

sitting as an independent theme in its own right. Participants had discussed their experiences of learning and attempts to change while in prison and in the community primarily in terms of their experiences of success or otherwise of their interactions with individuals and institutions. These subthemes were therefore moved from their own initially independent main theme (Theme D) into the more appropriate “communication” main theme (Theme A), as subthemes A5 and A6 respectively. At this point Themes A, B and C were judged by the researcher to have captured the data in its entirety and the report was produced.

5.5. Limitations of the thematic analysis approach

Braun and Clarke (2006) offer the observation that thematic analysis (TA) practices have been poorly defined; the prevalence of TA as a method – rather than a methodology – is apparent in the literature as specified elsewhere. The method allows the researcher to group codes into themes, which emerge when the researcher attempts to answer the question “What is this expression an example of?” (Ryan and Bernard, 2003, p. 87). It is worthwhile defining our terms to provide clarity and avoid the “sloppy mishmash” (Morse, 1991, p. 15) that may ensue when methodological approaches are blended uncritically.

Qualitative interview as a method and its subsequent analytical procedures are ripe for critique in that so much of the work is a result of actively subjective processes. In what might be seen as a contradiction to the researcher’s professional role as an SLT, as a researcher employing this method, it was not an aim of the study to “provide a voice” to the views of a marginalised group (Fine, 2002) as though the study or researcher’s work is a passive means of mediation between participants and the wider world. Researcher positionality, their experiences, prejudices, ignorance and knowledge, shape and direct the information provided to the researcher in the moment. In turn, this information is then edited and selected by the researcher in aid of an argument, or more broadly, an applicable model that describes and delineates findings. If successful, these may contribute to the

knowledge base in this area. “Providing a voice to the marginalised” was certainly not a key aim of this study, but it is clear that participants’ views and opinions come through from the verbatim data often powerfully and with clarity, mainly as a by-product of this approach.

How the prevalence of themes within the data is reported is a key differential factor between thematic and content analyses. Braun and Clarke (2006) point out group nouns such as “majority” and “many” are used to describe themes or codes of greater prevalence, whereas a fundamental feature of presentation of results in content analysis is their quantification. Given the spread of views and attitudes found within the interview data and the small sample size, when reporting prevalence within a particular theme, the researcher decided to use terms “majority”, “most”, “several” and “a few” to quantify prevalence of views. In reporting results for each theme and subtheme, the researcher decided to provide all relevant sample quotes rather than an illustrative selection of one or two, in order to provide evidence that was as representative as possible of participants’ views in the relevant area.

5.6. Summary statements

- The choices of thematic analysis as a qualitative data analysis method is more suited to this study than content analysis methods given the intended emphasis on reporting the content and nuance of interview data.
- Data was analysed in accordance with Braun and Clarke’s (2006) six stage analysis method.
- Coding of qualitative interview data took place in two phases. Coding Iteration 1 was an exploratory “bottom-up” phase that allowed the researcher to become more familiar with the data while performing an initial analysis. Coding iteration 2 led to the formation of superordinate “clusters” of categories from Coding Iteration 1 and led to the formation of three themes: Theme A, *Valuing*

Communication, Literacy and Learning; Theme B, Exerting Control; Theme C, Seeking Support.

CHAPTER 6: *Quantitative Findings*

6.1. Introduction: Quantitative Findings

In this chapter the findings of the quantitative strand of the study are presented: firstly the results of the CELF-4 standardised language assessment, followed by informal vocabulary assessment results.

The results in this chapter aim to answer Research Question 1 and will be considered separately initially before being reintroduced in the light of the qualitative findings in the Discussion (Section 8.2). Hypotheses pertaining to the standardised language assessment and vocabulary assessment results are restated in this chapter and are discussed in its conclusions.

Group results on the CELF-4 are presented firstly in terms of performance on Core Language Score measures. Following this, the findings for the informal justice vocabulary assessment are presented. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings; qualitative results are discussed in chapter 7.

6.2. Quantitative Findings: Hypotheses

This section discusses the associated hypotheses regarding the prevalence of the language abilities of young male offenders with recent experience of segregation. As discussed in Chapter 3, hypotheses are based on previous studies with similar population groups.

Research Question 1 and Hypotheses: What is the nature and prevalence of the language abilities of young people who have been recently segregated?

- Hypothesis 1: 40-60% of participants will perform below normal limits, with 20-30% of participants falling into the very low to severe range for language disorder.

- Hypothesis 2: 100% of participants will receive a score below 50% in the justice vocabulary assessment.

6.3. Quantitative Findings: Standardised language assessment results

CELF-4 Core Language Score: Composite Score

Table 6.1 displays group scores for the Core Language Score composite language measure. As can be seen by the group mean index score of 84.78, the group mean falls just within the marginal/borderline/mild impairment bracket (CLS = 70-85). The range of Core Language Score index scores (50-102) indicates a scoring pattern for the group ranging from -3 SD from the mean to slightly above the expected mean performance score (102) for age equivalent 16;11 (mean=100).

Figure 6.1 displays a boxplot of group total Core Language Scores, indicating their relationship to scores in the average range.

Core Language Score (n=9)	
Mean	84.78
Median	88
SD	16.92
Minimum	50
Maximum	102

Table 6.1: Group Core Language Score composite scores

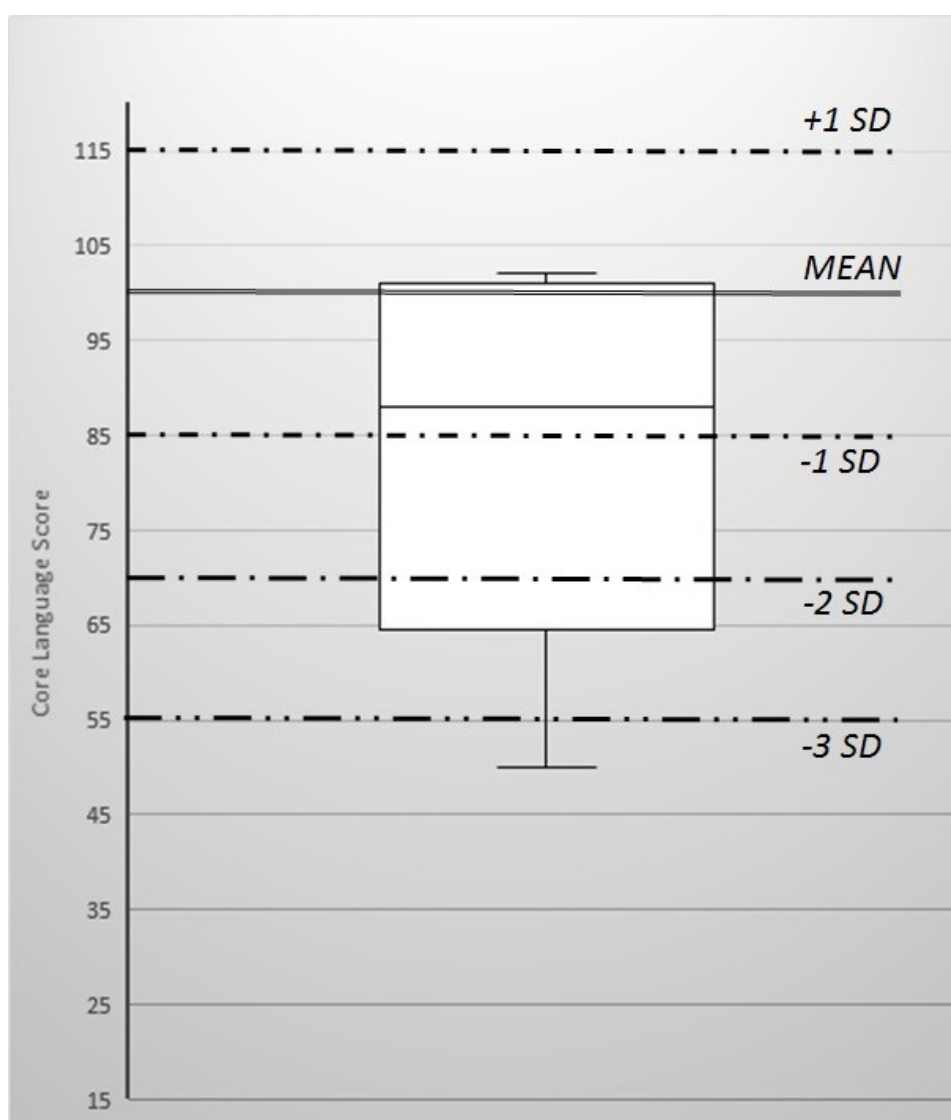


Figure 6.1: Boxplot of group Core Language Score standard scores

CELF-4 Core Language Scores: Group subtest scores

Four CELF-4 subtest scores are combined to provide a composite Core Language Score. The CELF-4 Core Language Score composite offers a first step in assessing language abilities by indicating presence or absence of a language disorder by reference to the differential from a mean score of 100. In the case of the CELF-4 UK edition, sets of subtests are administered in order to derive the Core Language Score. For age range 13-16, these subtests are: Recalling Sentences (RS), Formulated Sentences (FS), Word Classes (Expressive) (WC-E)/Word Classes – Receptive (WC-R), and Word Definitions (WD). Subtest scaled scores are converted

from raw test scores. The Word Classes – Expressive and Word Classes – Receptive standard scores are combined to provide a Word Classes -Total (WC-T) scaled score.

Table 6.2 displays group Core Language Score sub-test scores. For each subtest a standard scaled subtest score between 7 and 13 is within average range. The group means for all subtests are placed at the bottom end of the average range with Word Definitions in particular falling outside of this range. Below this, Figure 6.2 displays a box plot of group subscale scores by Core Language Score subtest.

CELF-4 Group Subtest Scaled Scores						
	RS	FS	WD	WC-R	WC-E	WC-T
Mean	8.44	7.33	6.67	7.56	8.78	7.78
Median	7.5	8	6	8	9	8
SD	1.94	3.71	3.12	3.57	3.63	3.49
Minimum	6	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	11	12	12	11	12	11

Table 6.2: Group Core Language Score scaled scores by subtest

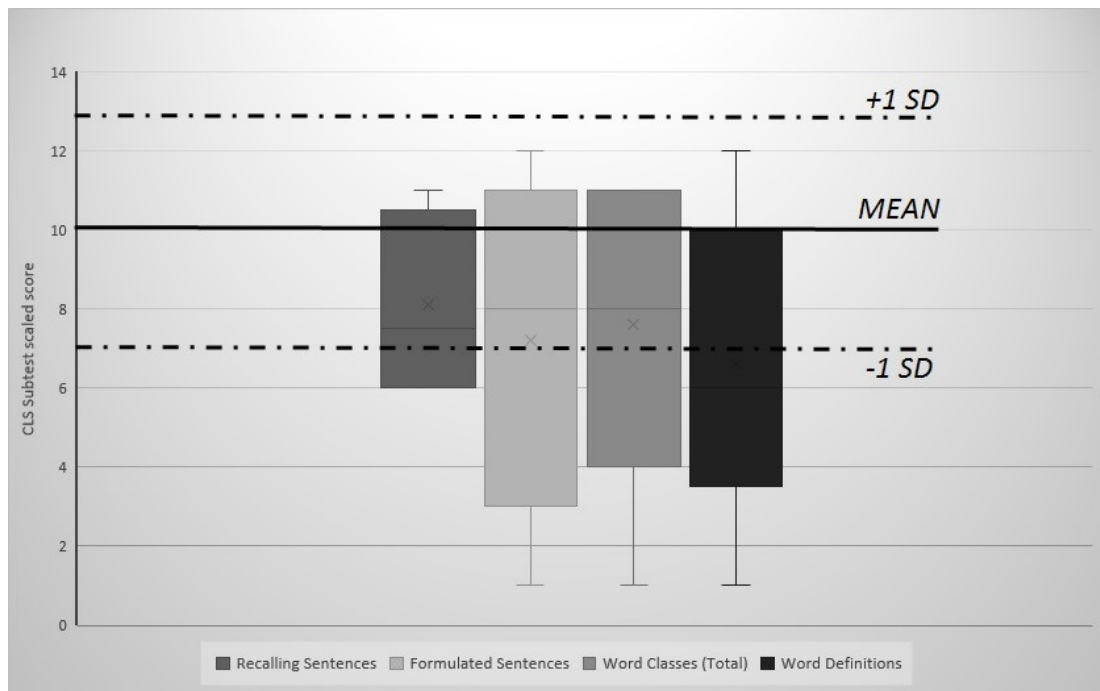


Figure 6.2: Boxplot of CLS subtest scaled scores for participant group

CELF-4 subtests: scaled scores by participant

Table 6.3 shows subtest scaled score (SS) results for the four subtests for each participant including breakdown of Word Classes-Receptive (WC-R) and Word Classes-Expressive (WC-E) subtests with converted Word-Classes-Total (WC-T) scaled score. For each subtest, a scaled score between 7 and 13 falls within the average range.

Shaded areas in the table highlight subtest scaled scores below the average range (SS<7). Out of 36 scaled scores (9 participants x 4 subtest scores; WC-R and WC-E are combined to provide a total Word Classes score (WC-T)), 13 subtest scores fall below the average range (SS<7), totalling 36% of subtests with a performance below the average range. Out of 36 scaled scores, none exceeded the average range for age equivalent 16;11 (SS>13). Out of nine participants, six participants (67%) score below the average range (SS<7) on at least one subtest, with three (33%) scoring below average range on at least two subtests.

CELF-4 Individual Subtest Scaled Scores						
	RS	FS	WD	WC-T	WC-R	WC-E
David	6	1	1	1	1	1
Stephen	6	8	8	11	11	12
John	9	10	6	7	7	8
Michael	11	11	9	10	9	11
Martin	10	7	6	7	7	8
Alan	9	3	6	8	8	9
Mark	9	13	8	11	11	12
James	10	9	12	11	11	12
Lucas	6	5	4	4	3	6

Table 6.3: CELF-4 Subtest scaled scores by participant (n=9).

Core Language Scores by participant

Table 6.4 displays Core Language Score by participant, interpretation of score, and relationship to mean in terms of standard deviation.

Name	CLS	CLS banding	Interpretation	Relationship to mean
David	50	<70	Very low range/severe	< -3SD
Stephen	90	86-114	Average	> -1 SD
John	88	86-114	Average	> -1 SD
Michael	100	86-114	Average	Mean
Martin	85	78-85	Marginal/Borderline/Mild	-1SD to -1.5 SD
Alan	79	78-85	Marginal/Borderline/Mild	-1SD to -1.5 SD
Mark	100	86-114	Average	Mean
James	102	86-114	Average	> +1SD
Lucas	69	<70	Very low range/severe	< -2SD

Table 6.4: CLS by participant, CLS banding, interpretation by CELF-4 (UK) criteria, relationship to mean

Group Core Language Score results may be summarized as follows:

- 5/9 (56%) of the group scored within normal limits (CLS 86-115)
- 2/9 (22%) of the group scored below normal limits in the Marginal range (CLS 70-85)
- 2/9 (22%) of group scored in the very low/severe range (CLS <70).

Cut-off points and interpretation

Interpretation of results obviously varies with respect to cut-off point for definition of severity of impairment. The CELF-4 manual specifies that scores falling between -1SD and -1.5SD from the mean may be interpreted as an indication of presence of a marginal/borderline/mild language disorder.

- When this range is adopted for the participant group results, presence of language disorder is indicated in 44% of the participant group (n=4).
- Adopting a slightly narrower cut-off where presence of language disorder is indicated by a score falling at -1.2SD from the mean or below, presence of language disorder may be identified in 33% of participants (n=3).
- A more conservative cut-off of -1.5SD or below from the mean identifies presence of language disorder in 22% of participants (n=2).

It is evident that the highest performing participants' Core Language Scores (Mark, age 17;10, CLS=100; Michael, age 20;9, CLS=100, and James, age 22;10, CLS=102 at the time of assessment) are equivalent to the average performance of adolescents younger than them by one, four and five years respectively. In the case of Mark, the youngest of the participants, this is not a large discrepancy and his test results indicate a consistent performance throughout the assessment subtests, with his subtest scores clustering around the mean.

6.4. Quantitative Findings: Informal vocabulary assessment results

Participants were presented with 19 vocabulary items and asked to define them verbally. All responses were audio recorded and transcribed. Verbal responses were then marked along a three-point scale, awarded 0, 1 or 2 points against the defined marking criteria for each response (See Appendix Q); zero points were awarded for a substantially incorrect answer, 1 point for an answer which contained elements of the correct definition or a partially correct definition according to marking criteria where the word was used in context; 2 points were awarded where the participant showed an understanding of the term and this matched the marking criteria.

Table 6.5 below displays transcribed responses to each presented item by participants. Responses are scored according to marking criteria as detailed in section 4.4.2 and definitions in Appendix Q.

Responses are colour coded in the table according to score received: black – 0; grey – 1 point; white – 2 points.

Alias	1. Defence
David	Your witnesses. People against you. People helping you. The defence is your lawyer and that.
Stephen	Your side to the story to the court.
John	Somebody who's there to help you. Back you up.
Michael	Your lawyer. Like, your story.
Martin	When you're putting in a defence, someone says something, a defence.
Alan	Defence – self-defence or something like that. Aye, something like that. (R: What does it mean in court?) Defence! That's what it means.
Mark	Your lawyer. Defends you in court. (R: Who is the defence?) Your lawyer.
James	Defence, like, defending yourself. (R: What does it mean in court?) Like, a witness, someone who's gonna corroborate your story. (R: Anything else?) Someone to either help you or help them.
Lucas	When you defend yourself or defend against something for example if someone was attacking you and struck back that would be self-defence. (R: And in a court?) Defence is where the person accused has his lawyer or QC speak on behalf of him to say his version of events.
	2. Prosecution

David	You've been prosecuted, getting a punishment.
Stephen	The punishment you get for the crime you've committed
John	Somebody who's there to try and put you away for something, like the PF in the court, they're there to tell the bad side of what you've done.
Michael	That's basically justice. Prosecute.
Martin	I know what that means! Prosecution and charged. (Difference between defence and prosecution?) You're actually found guilty of it or something. Aye.
Alan	The Fiscal. (R: What does prosecution mean?) Prosecute against you, basically trying to get you jail.
Mark	Like, if you actually get charged for it and it goes to court, obviously you got the PF to give you the jail and that. (R: What's the difference between defence and prosecution?) Defence is either going to help someone out or pick them out... The prosecution, you're gonna get the jail.
James	Where someone is found guilty of a charge or something and is basically sentenced on part of that – better word than sentenced – punished. Prosecution is when you're found guilty, or if you plead guilty, it's where you're convicted
Lucas	If you've been prosecuted, you've been, like, taken to court for to be charged for the thing you done, or you never done. Which is why you get the option to plead guilty or not guilty.
	3. Procurator Fiscal
David	Fuck. The people that make the decision what happens to you. Well, they do, they're on the judge's defence. They do everything that's happening, they prosecute you basically.
Stephen	Somebody who is trying to... Somebody who tries to get you in jail.
John	Somebody who received the report of the crime they've committed and they put it forward to the court and bring justice for what you've done.
Michael	The PF. (who is the PF? What do they do?) Oppose your bail!
Martin	Oh, right, OK. That's the PF, they can decide...they can oppose your bail or they can drop your charges.
Alan	Er...the person that gets you the jail. Go against your lawyer.
Mark	Arseholes. I think they're the ones that decide basically whether you go to trial, basically get up all the facts and investigate it. And once you go up to court, they basically ram up all the paperwork. (In the court, do they have a part to play in court?) I think so cos there's this one woman that's there every time and I'm not sure if she's actually the PF or not. But she's always there reading out your story and that. Every time I'm there I start annoying her and that.
James	Is the person that basically gathers all the evidence up and everything like that to put a case forward in the court, basically does all the work for the judge really, and that person cross-examines you and tries to bring the charges against you.
Lucas	Fucking dafties. People who go against you and argue wi you in court. They get you the jail.

	4. Custody
David	Jail. Police station.
Stephen	A place you're held in while there's ongoing trials or you do your sentence.
John	When you're placed in a cell or somewhere like the jail
Michael	Jail.
Martin	Police station – police custody, or jail. (anything else?) Held in custody.
Alan	Like jail. Or police station or sth. (when people say you're in custody what do they mean?) You're in jail.
Mark	When you go into like, the G4S van, you're in custody, if you get arrested you're in custody, prison – custody, or if you're having family problems and like, your court for your kids, you get custody of your kids.
James	Is when you are stripped of your liberation, in a police cell, in prison. Basically you don't have a lot of rights and are stripped of your liberty so you can't just... you're basically taken away from the public and society.
Lucas	The jail. Police cells. Same thing. This is jail and in the police station is custody. But when you say in court "You have been remanded in custody", so could be police or a court. Or the jail, I should say.
	5. Supervision
David	Like, if you get in any trouble for a period of time, you get prosecuted.
Stephen	Supervision...erm...an order that will get put on somebody if the court enforces it and feels as if it's needed.
John	When you're monitored, whether it be by a drug worker, probation, something like that
Michael	That means like you've to comply with social workers on the outside.
Martin	Supervision order. You can get a supervision order from the court. (What's it mean?) Means you have to turn up to meetings under supervision. Supervised in work. Work 1 on 1.
Alan	Something like a supervision order. See a guy once a week for an hour or something.
Mark	I think that's the song contest in Russia or something. Probation, basically. (if you're under supervision?) Basically, got CCTV watching you, police watching you, social workers checking in.
James	Is where you are watched, basically. A supervision order is probation where you have a worker who basically tells you what you can and can't do. You have certain conditions you have to stick but you can't do what you want. Sometimes you're on a tag, curfew, stuff like that.
Lucas	When you're out on... I done 30 months supervision. Had to see a woman so she could supervise what I was doing, and like, if she'd do home visits to see if my house was alright. Basically keep an eye on you. Everything you do. And if you need help with anger or sth, they'll help an all. They're not all bad.
	6. Conviction
David	Being convicted, like sentenced. Not just a sentence, a CPO and shit, you know? (R: Not always a jail sentence?) They tell you you're getting sentenced to community service. (R: Is that a conviction?) Aye.

Stephen	When somebody will get punished for a crime they've committed.
John	When you've been convicted of a crime, and obviously you either get a custodial sentence or a form of CPO or something like that. (R: What's a conviction?) When it's on your record.
Michael	A conviction is basically a charge, been proven guilty.
Martin	Means that you've not been remanded, you've been convicted. A convicted criminal. (R: What is a convicted criminal?) Somebody who's been convicted and found guilty. Or pleaded guilty.
Alan	Sentence. Get a sentence in court.
Mark	Like...going up to court for the charges and actually getting jail time. Anything that you're not walking out the court free, basically, not without anything. Getting convicted you get a tag and that as well.
James	Is where you're convicted of a crime, where you are found guilty or pled guilty to a crime and you are punished for that.
Lucas	Is like a charge, if you're found guilty. Of a crime.
	7. Offence
David	The offence you've committed. (What is it?) Committing an offence, isn't it, like, stabbing somebody or whatever.
Stephen	You hear these words all the time but it's hard to describe them! An offence is something that you inflict on something or somebody. Something you commit.
John	A type of crime you've committed.
Michael	Dunno. Can't think of it the now.
Martin	An offence is like a charge or something that you've done.
Alan	Something you've done and you go to court for it. A crime.
Mark	When you've been accused of doing something, but like, whether you have or haven't done it is up to them to decide. It's something you're in suspicion of doing. I always stick to not guilty.
James	Is like, someone committed an offence. An offence is where you break the law, you commit an offence.
Lucas	If I was to go and break a window that would be an offence. If I was to rob an old granny's handbag that would be an offence but I wouldnae do that. (R: Another word for it?) A charge. Another wee line to your charge sheet.
	8. Responsible
David	Need to be responsible for your actions, make sure you don't do anything stupid.
Stephen	Something you can... If you're responsible for something, it means you're the one that done it.
John	I'm always responsible for my actions so it's up to me basically.
Michael	Means that you know you done something and you're responsible for it. I know what the words mean but it's hard to describe them, aye.
Martin	Being responsible for your own actions, responsible for your kids, responsible for anything really. It's a big word, that. Can mean a lot.

Alan	You're responsible for your ain actions, responsible... You're in charge of what you do basically.
Mark	When you take responsibility for your actions, what you've been convicted of, or wrongly convicted. (R: So if the court says you're responsible...) doesn't always mean it's true. (R:...but they think?) You've done it.
James	Responsible is where...you take, basically, you accept what you've done, you acknowledge what you've done and the impact that's had on whatever you've done. (R: If the court says you are responsible for something...?) That means you've done it.
Lucas	Like, if I was to commit a crime and I ken that I done it, I would need to be responsible and own up to it, what I done.
	9. Attend
David	Basically if you've got court you need to attend it. (R: Another word?) Just attend appointments and stuff. Attend home for your curfew. Fuck knows.
Stephen	When you go somewhere and be somewhere at a certain time. (R: Like?) Court.
John	When you go somewhere, aye. Attend the court.
Michael	Attend is like, to go. Go somewhere you're needed at. To attend.
Martin	Like, I've attended this appointment today. Attend means you have to attend an appointment. (R: Another word?) Turning up.
Alan	Be somewhere.
Mark	When you attend court, attend probation. (What's it mean) to go up there and actually follow through with it
James	Attend is where you go somewhere you should be, or somewhere you go to, for instance, you are here today, attending work. So you would attend a court, etc
Lucas	Like, you need to attend somewhere, you need... If court was on I'd need to attend if not I'd go home. (R: What's it mean?) You need to be there.
	10. Attack
David	When you have a fight with somebody. Attack somebody.
Stephen	An act of violence.
John	When you hit somebody or attack them unawares so they don't know you're coming.
Michael	Basically means to...in the court sense, firing questions at you, asking you questions. (R: What about outside the court?) To assault somebody. All sorts of attack, aye?
Martin	Where somebody could attack you with verbal abuse, or they could physically attack you. (another word for attack?) Hit.
Alan	Attack somebody. Hit somebody. (Is it always hit somebody?) Aye.
Mark	Could be random, could be planned.
James	Is where you...is basically where you attack somebody, you can verbally attack somebody by shouting and swearing, or visibly attack somebody by assaulting them. Basically you could assault somebody else and that would be an attack.
Lucas	If I was to get up and start punching somebody, that'd be attacking somebody.

	You could say attacked by a police dog or something. If he sets his police dog on you, attacks you, at his command.
	11. Alleged
David	Allegedly done something, stolen water or whatever. You've supposedly done it. (R: Who supposes you've done it?) Polis.
Stephen	That's a hard one. Something...that... Alleged is something you've been accused of, something you've supposedly done.
John	When you get the blame for something but there's nae evidence. When you allegedly attack somebody. When you get the blame but they've nothing to go by the now.
Michael	Means supposedly, basically. You're meant to have, they're not quite sure.
Martin	Allegedly, something like that, is that what it means? (R: What's "an alleged crime"?) Dunno.
Alan	An alleged offence. (R: What's that mean?) The offence you're getting done with.
Mark	Means you're supposed to have done it but didn't do it.
James	Is where you are... someone thinks you've done something, but you've not necessarily done it, it's just allegedly you've done that.
Lucas	Like, if I arrested you cos you allegedly broke a window, like, you might have, might not have, they don't know, so that's why you get detained. So they can build up enquiries.
	12. Statement
David	A written statement to the polis. To tell what somebody's done or whatever.
Stephen	Statement is...when somebody states that you've done something or said something, when somebody states something against you (R: Does it have to be someone else?) You could make a statement as well.
John	Somebody who witnesses the crime or something like that and give a statement to the police what they recall happening (R: Do you get to give a statement?) "No comment".
Michael	I know what it means – to give evidence.
Martin	When somebody speaks to someone and puts a statement in about you. Telling someone what happened.
Alan	A witness statement. (R: What is a statement?) Something the police take off you for evidence or something.
Mark	Like when you tell someone something and you make it clear to them you're giving evidence (R: Who to?) police, courts. Your lawyer.
James	When you give a version of events and it's wrote down, basically. Or recorded.
Lucas	Is a thing like evidence, really. You say your version of an event, the other person says their version of an event. And you look at each story and put two and two together and they come up with a big fucking picture.
	13. Guilty
David	Like you're guilty of something you've done. Guilty of an offence you've

	committed. You're guilty... Dunno. All sorts of different ways. Guilty of cheating on your bird, on your girlfriend.
Stephen	When the judge decided you are the commiter of a crime.
John	When you're found guilty of a crime, so you've done it.
Michael	Means...you've done it.
Martin	Means you're guilty of what you've done. That's it really.
Alan	You're guilty of a crime you committed. Guilty verdict in court. (R: What does it mean?) That you done it. (R: Does it mean you've done it?) Doesnae mean you've done it. You can get a guilty if you didnae do it. Basically means you been caught for it, aye.
Mark	Far from it! Means it's been proven that you've done that offence (R: Anything else?) you feel bad for what you've done if you did do it.
James	Is when you've done something you shouldn't have done and you've been found guilty, or you could just morally know that you've done something and you could feel guilty for that, if you've done something wrong, and, er, that's what it is, you've done that.
Lucas	Is where you like, if you're guilty or charged, there's no way of going back if you're guilty. You get convicted there and then and then you get a sentence at the back ae it. (R: What's it mean?) If you're guilty you're responsible for the crime you done.
	14. Not Guilty
David	You're not guilty! (R: Who says?) The PF.
Stephen	When the judge decided you're not the commiter of a crime.
John	When it's something you did and you havenae done it.
Michael	Means you've not done it. Or you got off. One of the two.
Martin	Means you're not guilty, it means you haven't done it! Guilty means you HAVE done it.
Alan	You've never done it. Doesnae mean you didnae no do it but.
Mark	You didn't do it! If you don't feel bad about what you've done, or if you've not actually done it.
James	Not guilty is where you have not committed the offence or alleged offence against you and nothing comes of it.
Lucas	Means you never committed that crime. You're not responsible for that crime.

	15. Not Proven
David	It's the same thing. (R: As?) Not guilty.
Stephen	When the judge doesn't really know.
John	Means there's insufficient evidence to prosecute you for something.
Michael	There's a lack of evidence.
Martin	Means you've been found not guilty through a lack of evidence.
Alan	Can't prove that you done it in court.
Mark	Not sufficient evidence to say you were in that place or at that time or anywhere near there
James	Is where... You could be alleged to do something and then if it can't be proven against you then nothing can...nothing happens about it so you could have done it but if they don't have enough evidence then you can't be tried for the crime.
Lucas	Means they've not got enough evidence to commit you to find you guilty of the crime.
	16. Verdict
David	Can't remember. Is it not when you stand in the witness stall? (When?) Aye, when you're at trial. In a hearing. It was there when my hearing was there. Is it not the people that send away for reports and stuff?
Stephen	Is it an opinion? (R: In a court?) Is it your view or something?
John	The jury give a verdict like guilty or not guilty in court. Or not proven. That's a verdict.
Michael	The outcome. (R: From who?) From the jury.
Martin	I think I know what that is. You go up to court and get a verdict where they tell you if you're found guilty or not guilty.
Alan	Something you get in court. Guilty or not guilty.
Mark	Like when you go up to trial and I forget...the jury...they give their verdict, it's just like someone's point of view.
James	It's a decision made by people. So if you were to get a guilty verdict that would be the decision from jurors and a judge.
Lucas	Like the jury needs to come up with a verdict if you're standing trial. Jury needs to come up with a verdict, the verdicts means like make a decision whether you're guilty or not guilty.
	17. Appeal
David	Try and appeal your sentence or whatever. Try and appeal your bail. (R: What does it mean?) You're not happy it's happened and you try to appeal it. (R: What do you want to happen?) Get time knocked off. I'm trying to appeal my 10-year (<i>charge</i>)
Stephen	If you appeal for something, you apply to...it's your word against theirs. That's all I can think of for that one.
John	When you think your sentence has been too harsh or something, you can go and put in an appeal.

Michael	Means to...get it recalled, basically. See if you get a better outcome.
Martin	Like when you're found guilty, you're not guilty and you want to appeal it. (R: Another word for it?) You're found guilty and you want to prove you're not guilty.
Alan	Appeal against your sentence. (R: What does it mean?) Trying to get a lesser sentence than you got in court.
Mark	When you wanna go back up and retry the case. (R: Why?) If you're not happy with the result or if you didn't actually do it. To get a change of what's happening.
James	Is where something's happened and you don't necessarily feel it's went your way, or you don't feel it's went in a fair way so you appeal against something, so basically you are asking for that to happen again so you could go through it all again, basically. So if you launched an appeal in her you'd be asking for a retrial or resentencing or something like that
Lucas	Say I got a bigger sentence, and I didn't think that was fair, I would appeal against my charge, I would disagree with the sentence he gave me. I might go against it so I can get it reduced. (R: So you can disagree...) Make an appeal. They can grant your appeal, or they cannae grant your appeal. Like a bail hearing.
	18. Bail
David	You've been bailed until you come back to court. Released on bail. (R: What happens on bail?) You get put on curfew, cannae breach your bail. (R: What happens if you breach bail?) Get remanded. They don't trust me with bail anymore, they just gave me something called a section 23d there. I've breached it about 30 times...
Stephen	When you...when the judge needs more time to gather evidence. And he lets you out.
John	When you've been freed under an order or something, like good behaviour, but you're still to go back to court for it at a later date
Michael	Means you're getting released. (R: Anything else?) Outside the court, can be like, run. To bail.
Martin	When you're released on bail until your next court hearing. (R: What does it mean?) You've got to stick to your rules, your bail conditions.
Alan	When you get out from court. (R: Difference between bail and being let off?) Bail, you need to go back to court for it.
Mark	When you get released on certain conditions depending on your offence. (R: Anything else?) I don't like it. (R: Why?) It's brutal, sitting there, depending on what conditions it is, you get rules of what you can and can't do, if you get arrested, depending on what happens you'll get stuck in overnight or stuck on another bail, and get released, it's a never-ending cycle.
James	Is where you are released with condition so you have not got the custodial part of it but you've got to stay at a certain place, be in a certain time, you're not allowed to go certain places, it's basically just conditions
Lucas	Means you're released on special circumstances. If you breach a bail condition, you can get remanded. It's the thing that fucks me every time, breaches of bail. It's not the things I've done bad. It's breached bail.

	19. Adjourn
David	It's been adjourned to a court date, it's just like fuckin bail. It's just continued. Put off to the next court date.
Stephen	Another American one? I guess it's the American word for the PF.
John	Means put off.
Michael	Means it's been put off to another date.
Martin	I do know what that means but I can't remember. Court adjourned, that means they're off for lunch or something. Or can be adjourned to the next day.
Alan	Your court date's been put off to another date.
Mark	When the courts take a break. (R: Why?) I dunno. They've got all the time in the day and that and they leave us down there rotting.
James	Where something's put off to another time. So if you were remanded for something and it came to two trials and the witness hadn't turned up they'd have to adjourn the case for it to appear again in court.
Lucas	Put off to another date. (R: What gets adjourned?) If court's chock a block and they cannae be arsed dealing with it, oh, just adjourn that to next Wednesday. Put it off for another judge to deal with.

Table 6.5: Transcribed responses to informal justice vocabulary assessment by item and participant.

Table 6.6 shows group results by item (/19), percentage of group providing correct response per item and score breakdown.

No	Item	Score breakdown (n=9)			Group total correct (/18)	% correct responses
		2	1	0		
1	Defence	7	2	0	16	89
2	Prosecution	3	1	5	7	38
3	Procurator Fiscal	7	2	0	16	89
4	Custody	9	0	0	18	100
5	Supervision	8	1	0	17	94
6	Conviction	9	0	0	18	100
7	Offence	7	1	1	15	83
8	Responsible	6	3	0	15	83
9	Attend	8	1	0	17	94
10	Attack	7	2	0	16	89
11	Alleged	6	2	1	14	78
12	Statement	9	0	0	18	100
13	Guilty	5	4	0	14	78
14	Not Guilty	4	5	0	13	72
15	Not Proven	7	2	0	16	89
16	Verdict	7	1	1	15	83
17	Appeal	7	2	0	16	89
18	Bail	8	1	0	17	94
19	Adjourn	8	0	1	16	89
					MEAN:	15.5
						85

Table 6.6: Justice vocabulary scores by item: group totals, % group correct responses by item

Table 6.7 displays score and percentage correct responses by participant.

Name	Score (/18)	% correct
David	9	50
Stephen	13	72
John	17	94
Michael	13	72
Martin	13	72
Alan	16	89
Mark	15	83
James	17	94
Lucas	17	94

Table 6.7: Score and % correct responses by participant in justice vocabulary assessment

6.5. Summary statements

CELF-4 Results

- 44% (n=4) of the sample gained scores indicative of the presence of language disorder.
- Group Core Language Score results were as follows:
 - 56% (n=5) scored within normal limits (CLS 86-115)
 - 22% (n=2) scored below normal limits in the Marginal range for language disorder (CLS 70-85)
 - 22% (n=2) scored in the very low/severe range for language disorder (CLS <70).
- Six participants (67%) scored below the average range (SS<7) on at least one CELF-4 CLS subtest, with three participants (33%) scoring below average range on at least two subtests.
- Highest performing participants' Core Language Scores (Mark, age 17;10, CLS=100; Michael, age 20;9, CLS=100, and James, age 22;10, CLS=102 at the

time of assessment) are equivalent to the average performance of adolescents younger than them by one, four and five years respectively.

Justice vocabulary assessment

- Group mean score for this assessment was 15.5 answers correct (85%).
- Individual scores for this assessment ranged from 50%-94% answers correct.

Table 6.8 is a summary table of scores in CELF-4 language assessment (Core Language Scores), % correct in justice vocabulary assessment, and self-ratings (as communicator and in reading/writing). Self-ratings are discussed further in Chapter 7.

Name	CLS	Vocabulary assessment % correct	Communicator self-rating	Literacy self-ratings	
				Reading	Writing
David	50	50	1	5	3
Stephen	90	72	2.5-3	3.5	4
John	88	94	2.5	2	2.5
Michael	100	72	5	4	4
Martin	85	72	-	3	3.5
Andrew	-	-	3.5-4	-	-
Alan	79	89	4	3	4
Mark	100	83	2-3	4	3
James	102	94	3	4	4
Lucas	69	94	3-4	5	5
MEAN	84.78	85	3.1	3.7	3.7

Table 6.8: Table of CLS CELF-4 score, % correct in justice vocabulary assessment, and self-ratings as communicator/in literacy activities.

CHAPTER 7: *Qualitative Findings*

7.1. Introduction: Qualitative Findings

In this chapter, qualitative findings arising from interview data and subsequent thematic analysis are discussed. Three main themes were formulated from the interview data related to remaining Research Questions 2, 3 and 4.

Main themes and subthemes are discussed below. These are:

- Theme A: Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning
- Theme B: Exerting Control
- Theme C: Seeking Support.

In the quoted text, the following formatting conventions apply:

- Where the researcher has produced a phatic response to a participant, this is included in the main text (using the abbreviation *R*) rather than given a fresh line in order to save space. Substantive questions and comments from the researcher are on a new line.
- Figures in brackets at the end of quoted text refer to line numbers from transcribed raw interview data.
- Some editing of phatic responses from participants has been carried out for brevity, but this has been kept to a minimum. Edits are marked by use of ellipsis (...)

Figure 7.1 shows a diagram of the three main themes and their corresponding subthemes in this portion of the study.

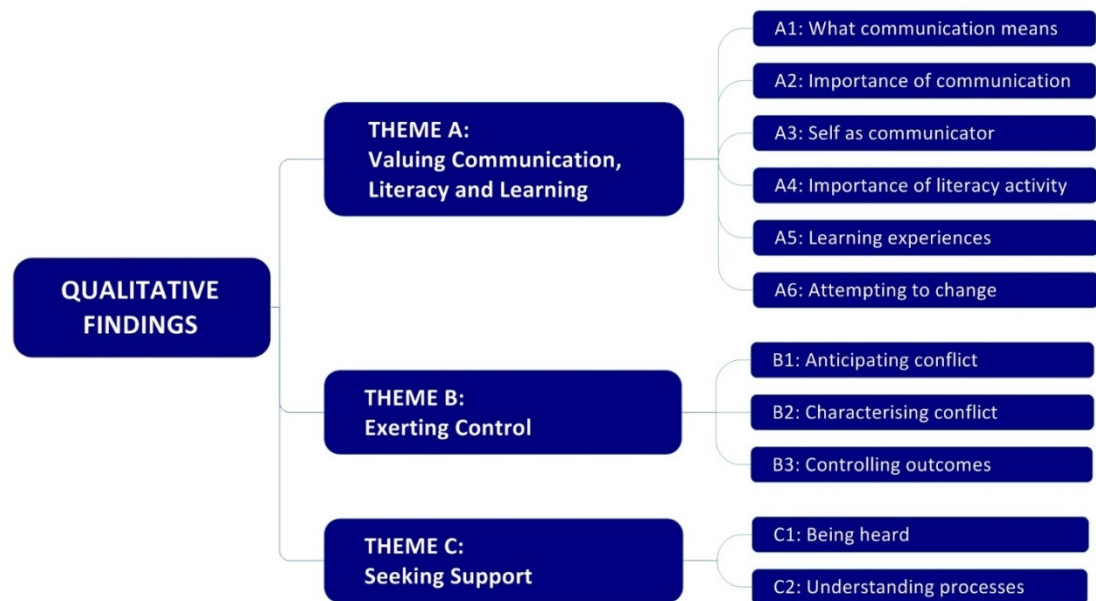


Figure 7.1: Main themes/subthemes derived by thematic analysis of interview data

7.2. Theme A: Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning

Theme A, *Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning*, brings together insights and views of the participant group about their experiences of their own and others' communication behaviours, their learning experiences, and motivations to change communication behaviours. It provides an overview of their attitudes and opinions about what they consider to be successful communication, and also their view of the experience of communication breakdown.

During the interview phase, participants were first asked to give a definition of communication and to rate themselves as communicators. These responses are reported together as often participants would provide their reasons or further elucidation of their responses. Following this, subthemes focusing on participant views of their own strengths and challenges are examined.

7.2.1. Subtheme A1: What communication means

This subtheme centres around participants' views of the meaning of "communication" and value judgements they place on its effectiveness in interactions with others; the majority of participants defined communication in social terms, and demonstrated some awareness of pragmatic rules and ability to codeswitch in interactions with peers, family and authority figures.

The researcher asked participants to provide a definition of "communication". A large majority of participants (n=9) emphasised its verbal aspects, using terms such as "speech", "speaking" or "talking". Half of participants included the social dimension of communication in their definitions, with reference to talking to "people", "two people" "other people" or "others" in their answers; one participant defined communication as "socializing with people"; another as "interact(ing) with each other":

Michael: *It's how...you talk with folk and that.* (3)

John: *How people talk to each other, interact with each other. Aye.* (50)

David: *Socialising with people or whatever. Bit like that, innit?* (23)

Lucas: *I would just say communication is just talking to people.* (51)

One participant offered a more abstracted definition of communication related to transmission of information:

Stephen: *How you get information. How you say information from somebody else. How you inform somebody about information.* (34)

Another participant placed an emphasis in his definition on the importance of civility in social interactions as a key feature of communication:

Andrew: *Obviously two people communicating, talking and that instead of screaming and shouting. Just being able to talk to each other.* (65)

When asked for examples of ways of communication, while a majority primarily discussed verbal means, a few participants discussed methods of non-verbal communication including “body language” (Mark, 49; Stephen, 38) and hand signals (Stephen, 38).

When prompted for more information about what communication means, a few participants illustrated their definitions with functional communication examples:

Lucas: *Sending letters, or like, phoning home.* (51)

Michael: *The telephone’s another type of communication and all that.*

Researcher: *Anything else?*

Michael: *Internet’s communication and all.* (5-7)

7.2.1.1. “Good” communication: definitions

The researcher asked participants to define *good communication* in their own words. Similarly to the previous section, while definitions varied in focus and were mostly brief even with further prompting, some common features of responses were apparent. One participant was not able to provide a definition even with further prompting:

David: *Fuck knows. (...) Don’t know, mate, to be honest with you.* (25, 27)

Given the preponderance of “talking” in the general definition of communication, some participants also defined good communication in terms of using verbal means to get the speaker’s message across as an important component. A few responses focused on good communication acting as a means of smoothly supporting and maintaining already established positive relationships, and as a means of “getting on with people”. Associations between good communication and facilitating interactions between strangers or people with neutral/less prosocial relationships were not discussed by any of the participants.

Lucas’s view of good communication involved being consistent in using talk:

Lucas: Good communication – where you talk to people all the time, stuff like that. (51)

A key element apparent in the responses of most participants in defining good communication was using talk combined with a sense of ease and a mutual or shared understanding:

James: Good communication is where you can...like, communicate with people so there’s like an understanding but like, like, like, communication-wise, so it’s like, like how we’re communicating here, this is good communication because we ‘ll both talk and listen, and there’s a, there’s like a just a natural respect if you know what I mean? Whereas if you try and communicate with somebody you don’t get on with, it can be quite difficult. (26)

Stephen: Being...being able to say something to somebody easily, without any kinda, I dunno how to say it, like, interruptions or confusions. (42)

John: *Good communication, if you get on with people, or... like, as I say, with my pals and that, obviously, we all get on fine cos we all know each other (R: Yeah) before we came in here, and...we all understand each other's...points of views and that, do you know what I mean, like, em... aye. (57)*

Michael: *Being understood and that. (11)*

Alan: *Respect. Respect them. Be alright with them. (60)*

7.2.1.2. “Poor” communication: definitions

Definitions of “poor/bad communication” were wide ranging, with some personal experiences offered as illustrative examples. Participants provided definitions and ideas that went beyond simply defining poor communication as the opposite of, or lack of, the qualities they had provided in their responses to provide “good communication” definitions.

A majority of participants focused on various perceived deficits of verbal aspects of communication, with insufficient talking or sharing of information mentioned by a few:

Lucas: *Bad communication is when you just sit there, dinnae talk to anybody, tell anybody your problems, and stuff like that. (53)*

David: *No’ talking to anybody or nothing. (25)*

Others focused on aspects of verbal communication that could reduce understanding: lack of speech clarity, for example, “mumbling” (Mark, 51) and talking incorrectly:

Michael: (...) *people who cannae talk right and that, y’know?* (17)

Several participants focused on pragmatic/social aspects of communication, for example, “being an arsehole” and “being cheeky” (Alan, 62; 64); “getting aggressive” (Mark, 51); “just talk to them instead of shouting” (Andrew, 70). One participant defined poor communication in terms of lack of attention and listening:

Stephen: *Somebody who doesnae pay attention to anybody, doesnae listen.* (44)

One participant also offered poor spelling as an example of poor communication: “Cannae communicate very well if you cannae spell.” (Michael, 13). Lucas discussed an example of poor communication in personal terms, relating his own experience of a time when he did not share problems with others, and which clearly relates to his previous definition of good communication as being willing to “talk to people all the time”:

Lucas: (...) *you need to talk to people, need to be able to socialise with people. You cannae just sit and keep everything to yourself. Cos that’s when things start going wrong in your head.* (85)

Andrew also offered a personal experience of poor communication:

Andrew: *Like if somebody tries to speak... Like if you've done something wrong, somebody tries to speak to you, you start fuckin screaming at them, man, or if you've thought...if you've not done something wrong, or somebody thinks you have and they start accusing you, just talk to them instead of shouting.* (70)

While participants frequently characterized good communication in positive personal/social terms, with examples of interactions with friends and people known to the participants, their examples of poor communication described situations where speakers either did not like each other, or were not known to each other:

James: *...if you try and communicate with someone you don't get on with, it can be difficult.* (26)

Stephen: *(...) if you knew the person better, that could help communication as well.* (40)

John: *Good communication, if you get on with people, or... like, as I say, with my pals and that, obviously, we all get on fine cos we all know each other (R: Yeah.) Before we came in here, and...we all understand each other's...points of views and that, do you know what I mean?* (57)

Martin: *I don't know, eh, cos I'm not good at it, I'm only good at it with the people I've been brought up with and the pals I've been brought up with. Other people, nah.* (54)

7.2.1.3. Awareness of pragmatic rules and codeswitching

The degree of awareness demonstrated in Theme A around social rules and conscious decisions to interact with peers in the prison setting has a basis in participants' awareness of the differing pragmatic rules between settings, individual interactions and the power differentials between those interacting with one another. Some participants demonstrated an awareness of the contrast between how they spoke to family compared to, for example, prison staff and reported that they were able to effectively codeswitch between situations. John in particular spoke at length about social expectation and how he modified his own linguistic behaviours in these settings:

John: My family, obviously it's different from when you're in the jail, you're in the hoose and that, obviously a different way of communicating with people, I try and... there's nae swearing and that, I don't try and swear, I don't...argue wi people, I get on wi everybody, em. Aye brilliant, I love... I love being on the outside, and being with my family, cos I'm with everybody, so, aye, aye, my communication's brilliant with everybody on the outside. (222)

He then went on to reiterate the importance of speaking with respect to his own family and child:

John: Family's everything, you know what I mean, so em, I just treat everybody with respect, em, that's it. We don't swear and that in the house, obviously cos we've got the wean and that the now, em, we all interact with one another, or... Whereas some families, they'll get their dinners and go in separate rooms, go and sit in their bedrooms an all that, whereas we, we, we sit, we like to be all sitting around about the table, do you know what I mean, that's one thing my maw always manages. (224)

He then contrasted this with his approach in the prison when communication broke down with non-friend peers, making judgment on how he modified his behaviour by setting and interaction:

Researcher: *Do you wish you could do it a different way? Or are you happy with it the way you do it?*

John: *Obviously, it's no... it's not the right thing to do, but at the same time, you don't want them to think you're taking a back seat fae anybody, backing down fae anybody, or.. you're gonna let people talk about you or your pals and that, in that way, do you know what I mean, so it's a bad thing that it does have to end like that but for me that's the way it has to go.*

Researcher: *What about outside in the community, if you have a disagreement or argument with family, for example.*

John: *No, well, we try and sort it between us, obviously. Er, never ends up physical or anything like that. No. Definitely not.*

Researcher: *So you talk it out.*

John: *Talk it oot. (240)*

Stephen discussed differences between how he talked to family compared to prison staff:

Stephen: *Aye, because it's your mam and dad, innit? You just...just talk to them with mair respect. That's about it, aye. (258)*

This contrasts with his views on how he spoke to family and with his interactions with peers in the community:

Stephen: *Erm... Same as my pals, but with a lot more respect.* (252)

One participant gave the view that he spoke to everyone in the same way, regardless of power differential or setting:

Researcher: *So thinking about outside again and family, or people who take care of you, is it different to how you talk in here, how you talk to your family?*

Martin: *No. (R: Not at all?) Not at all.*

Researcher: *Alright. So do you talk to the prison officers the way you talk to your own family?*

Martin: *Aye, aye.*

Researcher: *And how do you talk to friends? Is it different to how you talk to people in here?*

Martin: *Same way I talk to everyone, aye.*

Researcher: *Do you talk in different ways to different friends? Like, the way you – you've got friends in here? Do you talk to them in exactly the same way?*

Martin: *Aye, aye. (R: No difference?) I just speak normal to everyone, aye.*
(92-99)

In close connection with this first subtheme, participants commented on significance of the quality of their communication skills, as detailed below.

7.2.2. Subtheme A2: Importance of communication

Participants were asked if they felt that good communication was significant or important to them. In response, participants offered a wide variety of views, some describing situations with very high personal stakes. For example, Andrew discussed his reasons to try and be a more effective communicator:

Andrew: For me, it's important, I dunno about other people, but for me, right now it is, man, cos if I just start screaming at people and that, I'm never gonna get parole, and I'll have to dae a full six years, so for me, it's important. (82)

Also, Lucas provided a highly personal account of his experience of depression and self-isolation, where he underlined his own view on the importance of communicating with loved ones:

Lucas: Good communication is important, aye. (R: How?) (...) At one point in my life, I was suicidal, and like, never telt anybody anything, and I tried to take my own life, and I woke up with tubes down my throat and everything, I was in the hospital. My mum found me foaming out my mouth lying on my bed, so I suppose aye, you do really need to talk to people sometimes. (85)

Other participants offered more abstract examples of the importance of effective communication – for example, Stephen discussed the impact of poor communication at two very different ends of the scale in terms of its effects on others:

Stephen: *Say they were giving important information, I don't know, like it's an emergency or something, and they couldnae understand them... Like, say if somebody's life was in danger, you gave the wrong information, you could end up...then they could die or something, cos the other person don't know what to do, and all.* (95)

Stephen: (...) *Say you were plating up dinner for lunch and a new passman came out, and he wasnae really...he didnae really listen, like, they could not turn the hotplate on, and all the food could go cold or something. (R: Yeah.) And everybody'd be raging cos they'd get cold food. (laughs)* (97)

Similarly to Stephen's second example, the remainder of responses discussed the impact at an everyday level where messages in conversation needed to be understood or everyday contact with the outside maintained:

John: *Aye, obviously it is, cos... em... (...) to get on with people and that, and obviously understand other people's point of views, or...whatever it is you're talking about.* (91-93)

Michael: *Pretty important, aye. (R: What for? Why?) Getting into contact with other folk, eh, say you write a letter and that, they can read it and next thing, you know you'll get a letter back, eh.* (51)

Mark: *Mm. Pretty much, if you're not communicating well enough, like, there's... they might not understand what you're trying to get through to them.* (83)

Having discussed the importance of communication in the abstract, participants then gave their views on their own communication abilities.

7.2.3. Subtheme A3: Self as communicator

Participants were asked to rate their communication skills on a scale of 1-5, and then prompted to expand further on their rating; some participants did not respond verbally to these prompts. Others provided a rating out of 10 instead of 5. A summary table is provided at the end of this section.

One participant (Martin) did not offer a figure when prompted. David's discussion of his rating was brief:

Researcher: *Do you think you're a good communicator?*

David: *No. Not really.*

Researcher: *If 1 was like, poor, and 5 is like excellent, where would you put yourself?*

David: *1, very poor, probably, aye.*

Researcher: *Alright. Why do you think that?*

David: *I don't know, I just keep myself to myself man. (28-33)*

A few participants offered reflective responses in describing their view of their communication skills, where they discuss a need to modify them to suit their changing needs. Andrew was motivated to attempt to make changes in order to achieve earlier parole and could see a change in his communication style and abilities compared to when he arrived at the prison:

Andrew: *Say, I'm about a 7 or an 8 now, but when I first came in, man, it was terrible. I just didnae... Just fuck the SPS, man, I just went mental all the time. (72)*

James discussed a change in his communication behaviours as a result of self-imposed pressures to be a "hardman" and working to change his thinking on this

image of himself. Having rated himself as a communicator he goes on to offer a reflective account of the effects of his previous communication style not only on his own behaviours but on those around him:

James: Er... I'd put myself at about a 3...(...) A 3 or 4. (...) It's just because I get frustrated, eh, a lot...er... It's, I'm trying to get out of this way of thinking that I have but ... it's almost like the way I force people, they should know just how to act around me, if you know what I mean, but this is again, this is just getting in that mentality, in that hardman mentality.
(51-55)

He goes on to describe the frustrations he experiences at his own – as he sees them – weaknesses in his communication skills:

James: When I feel myself getting worked up, I find it hard to... verbally communicate with people, so I end up, I end up overexplaining something, or complicating a sentence, when it's something simple, if you know what I mean, I feel like I'm always having to explain the situation, and it ends up dragging on. And it never gets the response that I want, it never happens the way I want it to (...) then I get overexplaining things, and I get myself worked up, because...cos I'm overcomplicating things, they're butting in on it, and I'm like that, no! No! No! You don't understand what I'm saying, and then... They think they do and I'm like that, that's not the point I want to get across, and it just goes like that, and I'm like ARGH, and then I end up like everyone just fuck off, don't fuckin' talk to me. (58, 64)

Lucas rates his communication ability at 3-4, and goes on to discuss his communication style as being integral to his personality, where he sees himself as

someone who talks “to everyone”, values his sociability, and manages well in the prison environment:

Lucas: *If I had a problem I wouldnae always tell somebody, but, like, I talk to a lot of people, like, I’m an outgoing person, I talk to everyone. I’d say I’m about 3, 4, or something. (R: Alright). I wouldn’t say I’m excellent, but... (R: You get by?) I get by. Aye. (57)*

Alongside James, Stephen offered detailed reasons for his rating as a communicator (2½-3): he describes feelings of uncertainty and some concern that his style of communication is not effective when dealing with others and that he may be boring them or that his rate of speech is too high. His awareness of his lack of confidence, as he states, feeds back into his difficulty with getting his message across:

Stephen: *Between a 2 ½ and a 3. (R: 2½ to 3. Why do you say that?) Cos, I just feel, as if, when I’m talking to somebody, I feel as if they don’t really understand me, or... See when I say something to somebody, it’s like... I’m either speaking too fast or they cannae make out what I’m saying. (...) That’s just... that’s just what I think when I talk to somebody. (46)*

Stephen: *(...)cos when I’m talking to people, see after I finished what I’m saying, I’ll say to myself, like that, did they understand what I said there, or like, did I say that right, what I’m talking about? (286)*

Stephen: *(...) Aye, I feel as if, see when I’m talking and having conversations, I feel as if I go on too much. (...) I feel as if the people I’m tellin’ it to are starting to get a bit bored ae it, I’ll look, looks, like that, aye, aye (bored expression) and kinda like, just hurry up, (...) it feels, they feel as if they just want you to hurry up... (...)*

Researcher: *Alright. And what do you do?*

Stephen: *Ermm... Just start talking faster. (laughs) (190-192)*

He discusses in some detail his lack of confidence in different settings. He describes a need for safety in talking to groups of people:

Stephen: *I don't like standing up, and talking, and talking in front of people, but, if it's safe, like a group, I can stand and talk in front of a pal easy enough, but see if it's something focused on that, I don't really like doing it. (89)*

He also talks about finding staff sometimes difficult to understand, particularly in the halls where speech may echo in the corridors:

Stephen: *(...) sometimes with the prison officers, see if they shout something across the hall, they shout like, "Buhh buhh buhh" and that's all I can make oot, but obviously they're saying something and I'm like that, "I dunno what they said." (50)*

Similarly to Stephen, other participants frame their discussion of their communication skills in terms of the level of comfort they feel within their social environment, with John also demonstrating awareness that his emotional volatility can lead to communication breakdown. His self-rating (2½) is reflective of his views of these difficulties:

John: *I would say, obviously, mine is a wee bit bad, because I'm short-tempered and that, I know so sometimes I take things wrong, the way people talk to me, er...but whereas other boys fae where I'm fae, because*

they might be speaking, certain words we use, and that, that we don't call each other, do you know what I mean? (...) About 2½. (...) I don't think my communication's that bad, really. (61, 63, 65)

He goes on to describe changes in his communication style since arriving at Polmont, saying that he feels that these changes have become a problem for him in his everyday interactions:

John: Sometimes, I go out of my way to try and argue wi' people or start something, sometimes, cos I just don't like them in general, do you know what I mean. I think I've changed a lot, aye. (97)

John: (...)obviously, I'm a...I'm a bit...snappy and I don't take anything lightly, erm, the way people talk, or they raise their voice, do you know what I mean, one day they're like this, and then the next minute they're up in your face and talking dead loud, and...I just don't take that lightly, you know what I mean? I fly for them. (256)

While Martin did not offer a numerical rating of his communication skills, he offered a clear opinion about his communication strengths, and settings in which he knew he found communication more challenging:

Martin: I'm only good at it with the people I've been brought up with and the pals I've been brought up with. Other people, nah. (54)

When asked to discuss his own self-rating, Michael was confident in his own communication abilities, which he suggests are despite his lack of formal education:

Michael: *Quite good, aye. (...) About an 8 or something, man. (...) About a five. (...) Cos I... I didnae do a lot of school, but I still do a lot of things. (19-23, 25)*

A summary table of participant ratings and mean group score is provided below in Table 7.1.

Participant	Rating
David	1
Stephen	2.5-3
John	2.5
Michael	5
Martin	-
Andrew	3.5-4
Alan	4
Mark	2-3
James	3
Lucas	3-4
Mean	3.1

Table 7.1: Participant self-rating as communicators (/5) and group mean score

7.2.4. Subtheme A4: Importance of literacy activity

This subtheme captures participant attitudes to their literacy activity. Attitudes to and involvement in reading and writing activities are evidenced below.

7.2.4.1. Reading activity

Participants were asked to self-rate their reading skills on a 1-5 scaled (1 – poor, 5 – excellent) and prompted to discuss these further having rated them. A table is included at the end of this section outlining their ratings and mean score. Group mean self-rated reading scores were higher compared to participant rating of their communication skills (M=3.7 cf M=3.1). Participants who indicated they participated in reading activity were asked about their frequency and preferences in terms of reading content. Views about reading activity were analysed and significant thematic similarities were observed. These are outlined below.

A majority of participants gave the view that they were confident readers, rating themselves above average, for example:

James: *I've never had any problems. (...) I'd give myself a 4 or something.*
(78, 80)

David: *I'm 5, man.* (47)

Stephen: *Er... 3½.* (18)

Michael: *I'm alright at reading and that. (...) I'd put myself at a 4 or something.* (27, 29)

Only one participant rated his abilities as below average:

John: *Shit. Bad. Really bad (...) 2.* (65, 67)

John discussed his reading difficulties at various points throughout his interview and was the only participant to state that he needed assistance to understand written materials provided by the prison:

John: The only thing I've had to have in the past month or so has been a leaflet telling us about canteens getting changed. And I still don't understand that, know what I mean. I cannae read nice words and that. So... I don't even know. (113)

The researcher asked John if he had needed assistance with the written materials provided for participation in the study:

Researcher: When I gave you the info about this...

John: Aye, somebody helped me read it. (114-115)

He described feeling disheartened by his difficulties with reading:

John: Obviously, I understand words and that, aye... It wouldnae bother me, reading, do you know what I mean, but I get frustrated dead easy and that, and also I just don't even bother trying. (83)

After discussion of abilities, participants gave their views on recreational reading.

Reading as a recreational activity: preferences

A majority of participants expressed the view that while they are able to read, it was not their first preference in recreational terms. David and Martin, for example, both stated they had no difficulties with reading but chose not to as they did not enjoy it:

David: *I can read but I don't read.(...) (R: And do you like reading?) No, no really, man. (45, 68)*

Martin: *Don't like reading. (R: Do you think you're a good reader?) No. (...) I did say I could read. I could actually read, aye. I can read. (32, 36)*

Others stated that it was not their first choice of activity and would be a last resort if preferred activities were not available, such as TV or listening to music, whether in halls or in the "digger" (SRU):

Andrew: *When I bunk my telly, aye. (...) The only time I read... When I first come in here I got with boxin' and that cos I never had a telly, then obviously I just started reading. Keep you busy. (13, 21)*

Alan: *If I've no got a telly, aye. (98)*

Mark: *It just depends, really. Like, if there's nothing decent on telly, then, it's more out of boredom, so. (113)*

Michael: *Down the digger I read books and that, aye, but got a telly here, so. (41)*

Lucas: *I'd rather sit and listen to music. (63)*

7.2.4.2. Reading activity: frequency and content

Where reading activity was discussed, newspapers and occasional prison pamphlet/newsletter materials were the most popular form. The researcher asked participants the question “Do you read much?”:

Michael: *No. Only get what I see under my door and that, I sit and read them, aye.* (37)

Martin: *Near every day. I do, I read the paper sometimes. (R: What paper?) Just the Daily Ex... Daily Record. (R: Anything else apart from the paper?) No.* (32)

Alan: *I don't read much, man, I read the paper and that. I'm not into books, man, I've not got the patience for it. (...)* (R: *Do you read anything else?*) *(Alan shakes head)* (74, 87-88)

Lucas: *I read papers, like newspapers every day. (R: Have you got a favourite paper, a paper you read every day?) Just a paper. Get it off one of my pals, every day, cos he gets one every day. So just sit and have a cup of tea and read through it. Just sit a cup of tea and read through it.* (90)

One participant (John), who above described his abilities as below average, discussed how he limited his reading activities to newspapers, which he described as occasionally difficult to understand:

John: *Sometimes I cannae understand some words but I just look at... The only days I read the paper is for the sport bit anyway, but, em, if there's stories about our areas, or down North Lanarkshire way and that, I'll try*

and read them, either that or I'll just get somebody else basically to tell me what's happened, do you know what I mean? (69)

A couple of newspapers were mentioned by participants as preferred reading: The Sun (Alan, 90; Mark, 69; John, 46) and Daily Record (Alan, 90; Martin, 32). A few participants described a preference for books as part of their literacy activity. Most participants who discussed that they read books for recreation described a preference for true/historical crime non-fiction. James's description of his reading preferences was the only response given to show any preference for fiction:

James: I read the Hobbit, the book, the Hobbit, and a lot of people are like that, "it's a hard read", I didn't find it hard at all, cos it's like in old English, sort of the way they speak and that, I didn't find it hard at all. Found it quite good. (82)

Mark: But there's...like a decent book that I had that mainly was to do with guns and violence, but... It's a few times (...) I've been reading through that, and if...there's like something on the news. Something like that. (67)

Stephen: I never really used to read, man, but like, I'm starting to read, er, nearly finished a book, er, it's about conspiracy theories and that. (58)

Andrew: Anything, just like, crim...crim...crime books. (...) got all different kind of books, ones about pimpin' birds, murderers, just...gangsters, everything. But it's all happening doon in England so you actually know it's happening. (13, 17)

Lucas: *It's like true fiction, like a book like, killers and stuff like that. I'll read stuff like that. I wouldnae go out of my way to read a Roald Dahl book, like the Twits or something. It's not for me. (...) Stuff like real life, like wi' gangsters and stuff that lived in Glasgow, and built theirselves fae when they start fae young...* (61, 71)

Table 7.2 provides a summary of participant ratings and mean group score.

Participant	Rating
David	5
Stephen	3.5
John	2
Michael	4
Martin	3
Andrew	-
Alan	3
Mark	4
James	4
Lucas	5
Mean	3.7

Table 7.2: Participants' self-rating of reading abilities (/5) and group mean score

7.2.4.3. Writing activity

Participants were asked to self-rate their writing skills on a 1-5 scale (1 – poor, 5 – excellent) and prompted to discuss these further having rated them. A table is included at the end of this section outlining their numerical ratings. Group mean self-rated reading scores were comparable to participant rating of their reading skills (reading skills: M=3.7; writing skills: M=3.6). Participants who indicated they participated in writing activities were asked about the frequency of these and their preferences. Views about writing activity were analysed and significant thematic similarities were observed. These are outlined below.

During interview, a majority of participants gave quick and decisive value statements about their abilities in this area, stating that they were either “good” or “alright”:

Andrew: *I’m good at writing.* (27)

James: *I’ve got good reading and writing, I’ve done well.* (72)

Stephen: *My writing’s good. It’s getting better.* (68)

Michael: *I’m good at writing, aye.* (31)

Martin: *I’m alright at writing, aye.* (32)

A few participants offered judgments of their writing skills in terms of legibility of handwriting:

David: *I’m not really good at writing, in fact, I write like a younger person, I’m not really good at my handwriting.* (48)

James: *I'll go for a 4 for my writing. I've got really neat handwriting. (84)*

John: *I'm alright wi' writing, but it's a bit messy and that. (75)*

Stephen: *I used to have neat handwriting in school, so I did, erm, but, I didnae write for a year and half or something, I think it was, and then... I just... My handwriting's alright. (68)*

Andrew, John, James and Martin described their awareness of spelling, punctuation and grammar rules and how they approach these in three significantly differing ways. While Martin and Andrew accept or find a workaround approach to their spelling difficulties, James states that even when texting in a more informal setting, he feels he must follow the rules. John reports how feelings of frustration can obstruct his attempts at written communication:

Andrew: *I can do alright wi' reading and that but it's trying to... Like, if I try to spell something, I dunno. Sometimes, I just get it wrong sometimes (23)*

Martin: *Only in here, if I cannae spell, I'll say it the way it's pronounced, man, that's the way it is. (32)*

James: *I've always been like that, with a phone and that, I don't, I never shorten text, I always spell stuff out properly, and er, my grammar, my grammar's right, so I put punctuations where they need to be, full stops, commas and that. I've always been like that. (76)*

John: *I'm a wee bit better at my writing (than reading), but it's still the same, I get frustrated dead easy. If I cannae write a word right, or I think I'm writing it right... (correcting self) if I think I'm writing it wrong and I've nae way of (...) so I just...end up ripping up my letter when I'm halfway through it or something. (87)*

7.2.4.4. Writing activity: frequency and content

The majority of participants described letters to those on the outside as their main focus of writing activity while in prison. Some described this activity as frequent:

Lucas: *I write loads of letters a week. (67)*

Stephen: *In here I write a load of letters and that. (68)*

Michael: *I write letters all the time, aye. (43)*

James: *I write a lot of letters (...) (72)*

Martin: *I wrote a letter a week. (R: Who to?) My girlfriend. (34)*

Others gave the view that they did not write as much since coming into prison:

Researcher: *Do you write much?*

Andrew: *Not in here.*

Researcher: *Do you write letters or anything?*

Andrew: *Aye, but that's just...daft wee things.*

Researcher: *Daft wee things? Like, what sort of thing?*

Andrew: *Just a couple of pages. (27-31)*

Mark: *Know what I mean, my writing's really bad now cos I pretty much never write anything.* (110)

A few participants expanded on their views on writing letters as their primary means of communication with those outside. James described letter writing as a means of controlling his contact with the environment beyond the prison:

James: *I think I needed to get away from everything. I've cut myself off from the outside world. I only phone two people and I write letters to about three people.* (102)

Several participants discussed valuing the reciprocity of receiving letters from the outside, for example:

Michael: *Getting into contact with other folk, eh, say you write a letter and that, they can read it and next thing, you know you'll get a letter back, eh.* (51)

This opinion was also echoed by Martin who offered the view that while outside the prison letters were not a primary means of communication, when inside, they were much more valuable:

Martin: *Cos it's the jail, innit. When you're told you're gonna get a letter, aye... (nods, smiles)* (34)

Mark described writing letters to get updates on the progress of a dog he had looked after in a pet-care scheme at the prison:

Mark: *I've sent them out letters and that just to basically ask how they're getting along, but I've still not got a reply. (105)*

7.2.4.5. Other recreational writing activities

A few participants described using creative writing skills to produce lyrics or stories, or “wee menchie”; similarly to Mark’s view above, Stephen described how he had previously enjoyed writing as a child but how this had changed due to a lack of opportunity:

Stephen: *I like doing, like, wee menchie. I like doing that. Writing wee menchie and that. I've been doing that a lot, man. It's probably... I like writing letters as well. In school, I can always remember in primary school I used to love writing stories but I've not wrote a story in fuckin' decades (laughs)...*

Researcher: *Do they do, like, story writing and creative writing in here?*

Stephen: *No...*

Researcher: *OK. Is that something that you would be interested in doing, if they did?*

Stephen: *Er... Probably not. (91-93)*

James and Lucas both discussed their musical abilities and offered insights into how enjoyable they found making use of their creative writing skills while in the prison:

James: *I write a lot, I write a lot of lyrics as well. I write a lot, I do a lot of rapping stuff so I write a lot of lyrics and stuff. And, er, I think the thing with writing lyrics is it's not just a case of...just writing about random stuff, the stuff that relates to you as well, you need to use like metaphors*

and punchlines and stuff, similes and stuff like that, and slogans and that, and it's, there's more to writing lyrics than what people think. (...) I can put more time into it, and you can focus on writing. (74, 110)

Lucas: *I wrote a song, for Koestler's, I play guitar, I just sit and write my own songs. I put one in for a Koestler award. (49)*

7.2.4.6. Changes to writing skills while in Polmont

A few participants described a change in their writing skills while in prison. David and John acknowledged the support and training they had experienced with regard to their literacy abilities:

David: *Some people find it hard to read it but it's got better man, nowadays from the training in here, the writing, know what I mean. (R: So being in here has kinda helped with the writing?) Aye. (48)*

John: *In the past 6 months, what I mean is before I couldn't understand some words and couldnae write some words but... whereas I've been working with (name) and that, she's helped me a lot. Like going back to school and that, things you used to do, copy it, cover it, rewrite it again. (...) It's helped me a lot. (119)*

James offered the view that his perceived improvement in his skills was as a result of a combination of maturity and attendance at education:

James: *(...) I think as I'm getting a bit older, and my handwriting gets a bit neater, and I get a bit more articulate and stuff like that, and I'm...I'm*

enjoying it, like I go to education and stuff and I just volunteer to do loads of work. I enjoy it now. Whereas when I was in high school I hated it. (112)

Michael and Martin gave a view that their skills had not changed much or that being in the prison environment had frustrated them:

Michael: *It's just the same. (61)*

Researcher: *You don't think P has helped you with your reading or writing...*

Martin: *No. No. Just fried my nut. (75-76)*

Table 7.3 provides a summary of participant ratings and mean group score.

Participant	Rating
David	3
Stephen	4
John	2.5
Michael	4
Martin	3.5
Andrew	-
Alan	4
Mark	3
James	4
Lucas	5
Mean	3.7

Table 7.3: Participant self-ratings of writing abilities (/5)

7.2.5. Subtheme A5: Learning experiences

Subtheme A5, Learning Experiences, captures the attitudes and feelings of participants about their experiences of learning environments, primarily in the education system, and then within the prison setting in the form of educational and work parties. The subtheme consists of three topics:

- *School experiences*
- *Further education experiences*
- *Prison education experiences*

A majority of participants offered views on this subtheme. Discussion is based around views expressed by participants on their motivation to learn, perception of the obstacles to their learning. However, a majority of participants also specified a limited number of individuals in their school career who they remembered as offering support. The subtheme also attempts to capture the perspectives of participants who went on to higher education study prior to their current incarceration. A few participants offered their perspective of educational experiences in the particularly of college attendance and of the obstacles to completion of their courses. The prison education experiences topic examines participants' attitudes and opportunities to their learning while in Polmont.

Participants offered their views on their previous educational experiences and support offered to them. A few then offered their views on their current experience of education in Polmont and how they felt their needs were being met by these.

7.2.5.1. School experiences: Attitudes

A majority of participants offered their perspectives on their experiences while at primary and secondary school.

The researcher asked participants to describe their experience of school generally, and then probed for subjects they had enjoyed or found challenging, whether they had experienced support at school, and any qualifications they had received. When the topic of school experience was raised during discussions, participants gave a variety of initial responses which broadly characterise the tone in which school was discussed by the participant group as a whole. Some discussed the topic with humorous detachment:

Researcher: *Talking about school...*

Alan: *Hmm. (laughs wryly) (111-112)*

Others expressed their views in extremely negative terms:

Mark: *(exhales) It was brutal. (115)*

Others referred to their own behaviour having a strong influence on their school experience:

James: *Oh, High School... I was a fu... I was a little shit. (114)*

Where provided, participants gave predominantly negative views of their interactions with school teaching staff, with what they perceived as unreasonable behaviour by teachers as the main reason. Stephen characterises interactions with teachers at school by a mutual lack of respect, and reciprocity of “attitude”; other participants gave examples of what they saw as a tendency to unfairly single them out and/or remove them from the classroom as a result:

David: *I didnae like the staff, man.*

Researcher: *What was up with the staff?*

David: *Just did my nut in. (...) Just did my nut in, I just left, ended up in resi school. (103-105)*

Stephen: *Sometimes teachers... Like, sometimes, see if teachers, pure strict teachers, I never had any luck man, they pure...pure had an attitude wi’ me, anytime I’d try and get my attitude back, man, they’d be like, “Less of that attitude...!” And I’d just be like that (sucks teeth). That’s by the time I got to high school, I started... I turned into a teenager and that, I wasnae having it (laughs, coughs).*

Researcher: *And you... Did you feel like you didn’t respect them, or...?*

Stephen: *I felt they didnae respect me as well, so I just ended up not respecting them. (131-133)*

Mark: *I just didn't like it one bit. Like, the teachers, they were just constantly nipping at you, trying to find something wrong, and as soon as...it's, as soon as it's nothing, they just started something so they can pick at it like a scab. (...) Like, there was a geography teacher, who looked like that Triple H guy from the wrestling, and he used to come in and (...) I was...just straight out of the class. Sent out.*

Researcher: *He would send you straight out?*

Mark: *I would literally just be coming in, putting my bag on the floor again, look at him and that'd be it, it'd be straight back out.*

Researcher: *And why...did he like, give a reason why that was happening, or...?*

Mark: *Just basically cos he didn't like me. (117, 119-123)*

Some participants described frequent interruptions in their education as a result of removal from mainstream schooling; a few described having attended a number of behavioural and non-mainstream schools:

Researcher: *Where did you go to school?*

David: *All different schools. Behavioural ones.*

Researcher: *In (town A)?*

David: *No, up here, (town B) and that. (94-97)*

Alan: *Went to fourth year, then I... think I did my prelim exams, man, I left, and I ended up in and out of secure units and that. . I passed my exams, know what I mean? (R: Yeah.) End up in behavioural schools and that. (114-116)*

Researcher: *Where'd you go?*

Martin: *To an offsite school. That was alright, that place. (83-84)*

When asked about reasons for their removal or expulsion from school, some participants described having been being “kicked out” in primary school or early on in secondary school. Their responses often indicate a degree of acceptance or of resignation about this, where they describe “ending up” in behavioural schools, and in some cases explicitly state the reason why they were removed from mainstream schooling:

Martin: *Got kicked out in first year. (R: In first year...) High school. Aye. (R: Why was that?) Cos of my behaviour. (84)*

Alan: *Went to fourth year, then I... think I did my prelim exams, man, I left, and I ended up in and out of secure units and that. (...) End up in behavioural schools and that. (111-114, 116)*

Andrew: *Mainstream, I was kicked out, Primary seven. (...) Not been back in a mainstream since. (38)*

Lucas: *Got kicked out, I was on behavioural support when I was in Primary 5, til I was...went to high school. And then in that school I was on behavioural support and missed all my days. I got kicked out for life at the start of third year. When I was 15. (99)*

James discussed his experience of having been frequently under disciplinary measures during his time at mainstream school:

James: *I got excluded. I was alright up until second year. From about the end of second year until fourth year, I got excluded all the time. Got excluded about 40 times from high school. (114)*

Lucas's description of the circumstances around his removal from mainstream schooling centred on what he saw as an unjust resolution to an argument between himself and the rector of his school:

Lucas: *Cos my teacher was a bit of a bitch. I didn't like her (R: To you...?) Aye, just to me, cos I was the class clown, and she was like, and I just... I used to sit there and get bored, and just do stupid stuff so she'd gimme a row and then I'd start arguing with her, and then she'd kick me out, she'd tell me to go to the rector. And I'd go to the rector and he'd end up shouting at me, end up laughing at him and then it gets into a big heated argument and he starts spitting on me...So... I just pushed him, and got kicked out for life. (R: Alright...) Got charged with assault (laughs) He was spitting in my face... Ken like, when he shouts, spit comes out, and it's no nice. I wouldnae spit in his face, so... Why should he do it to me? (110)*

If participants had indicated that they had struggled with the curriculum or more broadly, had had a poor experience of schooling, the researcher then asked if there was anything about their schooling they had enjoyed or remembered positively. These experiences are described below.

7.2.5.2. School experiences: Subject preferences

All participants were able to name subjects that they had enjoyed and provided reasons for these preferences. Even participants who had had a mostly difficult school experience were still able to cite particular subjects they had preferred

either because they felt they had succeeded academically, found the topic interesting, or had received support from staff.

A significant number of participants discussed physical education and outdoor activities as a preferred subject:

Researcher: *What did you like?*

Alan: *PE. That was it, basically, man.* (125-126)

John: *PE. Physical Education. That was the only thing I ever took part in or...bothered about at school. (R: Yeah? Were you good at it?) Brilliant.* (125-127)

Stephen: *PE. That was good. That was called Gym Time. Erm... I think that was about it.* (110)

Martin: *Then when I got moved to the offsite school, we done outdoor education all the time. Canoeing, kayaking, way up Glenshee skiing and sailing. (R: Was it good?) Sailing, aye, jumping off the hills at the beach, what's it called paragliding. Done all that. Done it all, mountain biking, down rocks like that (arm slants). Up in Aviemore, stayed there, aye.* (86)

Another possibly surprising popular subject area among participants was home economics:

Alan: *PE, probably. That's the only thing... Cooking... Cooking.* (130)

Stephen: *In high school I liked home ec, erm... I like PE.* (121)

Martin: *I liked... Homie. What was it... Cooking and that.* (97)

A minority of participants discussed a preference for subjects requiring higher literacy skills, for example, English language/literature or Modern Languages. Only creative writing was discussed by Stephen, who reported that he had enjoyed it when he was much younger:

Stephen: *In school, I can always remember in primary school I used to love writing stories but I've not wrote a story in fuckin' decades (laughs). (91)*

Science subjects and mathematics were most prevalent in responses:

Alan: *I didnae mind maths, man, didnae like it but didnae mind it either. I liked science and that. Chemistry. (125-130; 138)*

Stephen: *I liked physics, sometimes. And then... I'm trying to think. I liked chemistry sometimes as well. (121)*

Martin: *I told you what I was good at. Maths, science... (97)*

Andrew described how he used his functional maths skills in the community:

Andrew: *Maths.*

Researcher: *Yeah? Anything else?*

Andrew: *Not a lot, man. (R: No?) I wasnae after any of the rest ae it.*

Researcher: *Alright. And what was it about Maths that you liked?*

Andrew: *Dunno, man. I'm just good wi' numbers.*

Researcher: *You're good with numbers? Do you use numbers much? Like, outside?*

Andrew: *Aye. When you're sellin', you've got to. (40-46)*

A few less prevalent subjects were also discussed by participants. James expressed a wide range of preferred subjects but also pointed out that he had not attended school regularly:

James: *I used to like art and that, eh. Art and er, I was alright at maths but now I can't... Now I dinnae ken maths. I used to. Er... I liked science as well. Erm... CDT. Just like, woodwork, metalwork, graphic communication, and drama. Took drama. Quite enjoyed drama. And then history. Aye, history. I hardly attended these classes.* (117-118)

When asked about subjects they preferred less or disliked, participant responses frequently focused on subjects that required engaging their literacy skills:

Alan: *Aye, French. English. What other ones was there... Just a few, man, pain in the arse.* (139-140)

Stephen: *I never used to like maths. Or... never used to like reading, never used to like reading time, put on wee books, I'd read them, I had books. I never liked that.*

Researcher: *Right. And was that because of... Why do you think that was?*

Stephen: *I don't know, man, I think it was cos you had to sit there for a long period of time, reading something that you didnae like. Dunno, that's it, that's all I can think of.*

Researcher: *Did you think the books were boring?*

Stephen: *I think they were boring, and I think, just, like, sitting in the same place, at the same time as well, I just found it dead boring, I'd end up, like, see if we were all sitting on the tables, if a teacher was reading a book to the class, I'd always end up falling asleep, so I would. (laughs)* (115-119)

John: *I didnae like English and Maths...* (133)

7.2.5.3. School experiences: Educational attainment

Only two participants offered description of academic qualifications attained while at school. While James offers some detail of marks and passes, Alan found it more difficult to recall subjects or qualifications achieved.

Researcher: *Did you get any qualifications at school?*

Mark: *Pff... Well, I was.. Got to about first year, and then...sort of patched it after that. (R: First year...) At secondary.* (136-139)

James: *Never skived any of my prelims or Math NABS or any of my exams, I never done anything like that, I always went to them and I passed them, like I passed 5 standard grades, so... I was like...*

Researcher: *Did you pass well?*

James: *Yeah, not as good as I wanted to do, but.. Alright. Just being like, just general level...marks. 3s and 4s.* (114-116)

Alan: *Went to fourth year, then I... think I did my prelim exams, man, I left, and I ended up in and out of secure units and that. I passed my exams, know what I mean?*

Researcher: *What did you get in your exams? Which ones?*

Alan: *I'm no sure, I dunno how they all work, man, but...they werenae like the best of marks.*

Researcher: *Alright. Do you remember the subjects?*

Alan: *Maths and that, I think... Not too sure.* (114; 117-120)

7.2.5.4. School experiences: Support and interactions with staff

Half of participants recalled receiving support from at least one teacher or support assistant and spoke about these individuals positively. Some participants discussed school staff they felt had provided support for them in their time at school. Mirroring their preferences for subjects, a number of participants discussed their PE teachers, who they remembered positively:

Researcher: *Was there any teachers you did get on with?*

Mark: *My PE teacher, but that was just cos he let us...like do whatever really. So it was basically just an hour of sitting in doing whatever we chose to do. (132-133)*

John: *Brilliant teacher, aye. (R: Who supported you?) That's what I'm saying, like, obviously, every other school I went to flung out at the end and that, and obviously, I went to behavioural school, erm, aye, that was the only class I used to take part in, that was the only time I used to go to school was to get stuff done in physical education. (129)*

Andrew discussed a named teacher who had provided him with support while at a behavioural school:

Andrew: *When I was when I got kicked out of mainstream, there used to be a woman called (name) that works for a behaviour management thing, but she takes you down into a classroom, in where her offices are in the toon, and she sits and does work wi' you. She helped us a lot.*

Researcher: *What did she help you with?*

Andrew: *Everything. Just... She tried to put me through my exams but I wasnae interested but, she still wanted to do it for us. (58-60)*

Others' memories of support provision at school were positive but more vague:

Researcher: *Were there teachers who were good?*

Alan: *Aye, some of them. (R: Did they help you?) Mmhm. (141-142)*

Researcher: *And were there any teachers that helped you, do you think?*

Do you remember any teachers?

Stephen: *Aye, through primary school there'd always be the assistant teachers coming up, "Do you want any help with that", aye, just assistant teachers coming in the classroom. (126-127)*

7.2.5.5. School experiences: Expressions of regret

Some participants expressed regret that they had refused or not recognised staff support opportunities during their time at school; they provide possible reasons for this, for example, their own personal maturity level at the time, peer distractions or personal difficulties in other areas of their lives that impacted on their school attendance and engagement. David offers his view on his own engagement at the day unit he attended:

David: *It was a good school, man, just didn't realise at the time, man, I thought it was, fuckin, if I fuckin go back to my old days, I'd go back to school, know what I mean? You know what you're like when you're younger, man, you're daft, know what I mean? (109)*

John: *Obviously, it was my first school I went to, I blamed it on the teachers and that, but then, obviously I moved to another school and I just didnae ever bother my arse with anything. Just didnae even bother trying. (...) it was always the people in the classes and that we always started with one another, always at each other, or cause a nuisance in class. You*

know what I mean, just never bothered. The teachers were always fine, they always tried to help us, but we just never ever took that help, know what I mean? (133; 137)

Researcher: *Did you feel like they supported you and helped you out in the offsite school?*

Martin: *Aye, there they were, but in mainstream school, it wasnae... My behaviour at school was cos of stuff that was going on in the family house, it was just depressing me and I went to school in a bad mood all the time. (...) I wish I'd stuck in at school, man. Wouldnae have come in here and that.*

Researcher: *You should have done more? Is that what you think?*

Martin: *Aye, got a job or something at the end of it, man. (101, 134-136)*

7.2.5.6. Further education experiences: Attitudes and hopes

This section of the subtheme captures the experiences of a few participants who went on to further study beyond secondary school level. While data in this area was limited to a few participants, their insights illustrate a key difficulty inherent in attaining further qualifications for these individuals. Two participants, James and Lucas, described their experiences of further education which had been curtailed due to involvement with the criminal justice system and subsequent imprisonment; whereas James had begun a construction course, Lucas had been attending college training to be a chef. Both spoke with great enthusiasm about their courses and their interests in their chosen subject areas, the qualifications they had attained, and their pride in their achievements. James reported that he had flourished while on the course and received support from a member of staff:

James: *I started off, I got myself on an access course so I changed to construction and engineering, general level, and then you get a curriculum head for the construction, and I done like 2 months of construction and engineering, and I just...trying without boasting, like, was just ahead of everybody else, kept on, the head ...the guy at the time was like, alright, we'll get you onto a proper NC course. (118)*

However, for James, police involvement and jail time led to interruptions and subsequent non-completion of his course:

James: *I quite liked the CADD, computer aided drafted design, on the computer, so I ended up going into that, er, and then I was through the course, and I was doing, er, Intermediate 2 CADD which I quite enjoyed, and this is when I started getting in trouble with the police and going to jail, so I never finished...I finished a good like 85% of the course but I never finished it all, but I passed all my like, courses in the course (...) But I got a lot of credits for it, so I was quite happy with that. (118)*

Lucas describes how he had plans to be a chef, with his course attendance was interrupted a number of times by spells in prison:

Lucas: *Put me into college and got kicked out of that and then like, school wasnae for me so I went and got my NQT Qualification, I want to be a chef. And then I done half my second year, come in here, started that again, come in here, been in here a few times. (101)*

Lucas reported that he still had a goal of being a chef and resuming his studies on release. He spoke with enthusiasm about his favourite elements of the course and the satisfaction he got from hard work and ingenuity:

Researcher: *So if you wanted to be a chef can you go back to that course?*

Lucas: *Aye, I can go back to that, aye. (...) I liked front of house, and stuff like that. I also liked cooking all the time, being in the kitchen, like, we'd do services for the college, like 4 at night to 9 at night. Then we'd sit and cook like 40 covers. Starters, mains, desserts. (R: You did whole evenings' worth of food?) Aye. It was hard going, you just keep constantly on the move. Making bread fae scraps, making all sorts. Make everything fae...next to nothing. (104, 105, 107)*

7.2.5.7. Prison education experiences: Attitudes and hopes

Participants who expressed a view about their work parties and educational experiences while incarcerated spoke mostly positively about these and offered insights into their goals for attending classes and workshops – a majority of those who expressed a view clearly valued the experience and opportunity to pursue their interests. Participants often spoke with enthusiasm when asked about their educational opportunities at Polmont. Some described them as a means of gaining skills that could be applied when liberated:

David: *I'm going back to education, but I'm going up to do my driving theory. I'm going up to do a different class. I'm gonna try and do my driving theory, man.*

Researcher: *That's good. I found it really hard.*

David: *I know, I've got to say it's all about that, man. (55-57)*

Others described their aim as gaining qualifications:

Alan: *You can get your CSC...CSCS card in here, and I want to see if I can get in to do that, man, then...see what work party I get. See what I can get, man. (6)*

Alan went on to describe his options for work party involvement, expressing clearly that he wanted to actively be involved in something of interest to him rather than doing it just to get out of his cell:

Alan: *I'm waiting for a work party. (R: Right.) Though I'm not getting that for another two week or something. But... I don't know what one I'll get.*

Researcher: *What one would you like?*

Alan: *Mmm... Joiners or something, maybe. Something alright, something I'll go down and do, know what I mean? I don't want to go to a work party and just sit in there bored.*

Researcher: *Of course. What is there? Joinery...*

Alan: *Joiners, brickies, plumbers, engineers, cooks, painters... Dog's Trust, the gardens, barbers...*

Researcher: *Quite a lot.*

Alan: *Aye, there's a few man. 105-111)*

Lucas spoke enthusiastically about the classes he attended and how he found them rewarding:

Lucas: *I do geography and art, I do another mad art class, tomorrow I do another mad art class.*

Researcher: *How are they mad art classes? What do you do in them?*

Lucas: *Sit and like, one, I wrote a song, for Koestler's, I play guitar, I just sit and write my own songs. I put one in for a Koestler award. (R: What's a Koestler Award?) It's just a competition thing. An art competition. Could win money. (48-50)*

Two participants (Mark and Andrew) spoke highly of their experience with the Paws for Progress programme:

Mark: *Er...They had people coming from like Paws for Progress, you got that, vets coming in and teaching you about with the injured dogs and that, so...*

Researcher: *Did you do that? What was it like?*

Mark: *It was great, it was the only course I've done throughout the 10 month I was in.*

Researcher: *Uhhuh. And what is it, you, you look after a dog? Is that right? You get one dog?*

Mark: *Yeah, throughout the whole course I think it's about...three month or something you look after that dog. And she'd come in like, four or five times a week, and you'd sit there training them and that, just so that they've got the better skills to get rehomed. And after it, you get the certificate and if you want to and that, you get them to ask about how far they're getting on and that. So...*

Researcher: *And...er...is it not tough when it's finished? Like, you had this dog, and did you not get attached to the dog?*

Mark: *Oh, I did! (97-103)*

Andrew: *Er, I'm working wi' Dogs Trust, and do you know (name) fae education? (R: Yeah.) She comes doon fuckin does my writing, my readin' and that, but it is then I'm waiting to start, just been put doon for*

programmes, today, all behaviour programmes, just the same as (name)'s doing, speech, shit like that. (7)

James offered the perspective that taking part in educational programmes and work parties was an important contributor to his self-esteem and self-image; he found it frustrating that he was unable to take part in these activities as freely and quickly as he would like:

James: I'm a lot more mature than a lot of people in here. Maybe it came with age, but... And it's hard. I can't progress here so I can't do any of the things that I need to do in here, for my progression to work towards either parole or for a liberation date. So all I can do is go to my work parties and education, like that's good enough, I'm getting my qualifications for that, but now I've done them, so I'm sitting here pulling my hair out cos I can't... as I say I can't do the programmes that I need to do, I can't progress if you know what I mean, cos they keep telling me that they can't start on them here because I don't have enough time here, before being moved on the cons. (8)

The value of work parties was expressed by some participants in terms of reducing boredom; Lucas expressed some frustration that he was unable to be involved in work parties or activities that met his interests:

Researcher: What would make it easier, if you have to be in your cell...

Lucas: Just more things to do.

Researcher: What sort of things?

Lucas: *I dinnae ken. Like if you got working to do during the day, or something. Or like, I dinnae ken, to go to another work party or something. One that you liked.*

Researcher: *What would you like to do?*

Lucas: *Just the plumbers. (253-258)*

Lucas: *Sitting in your cell all the time. It's boring. Like, I go to work party, and then they tell me I wasnae allowed back cos I'm a bully, so I have to sit in that cell every day ... (236)*

Similarly, Stephen and David expressed the view that they valued the social aspect of activities and the reduced boredom:

Stephen: *I think it's just cos you get yourself in the habit and that, you're aff drugs, and you're all (...) surrounded with people, and I think I... I think it just helps, man. Obviously in here, you're not forced to do activities but you're really encouraged to do stuff and that. (105)*

David: *I'm interested in the computing classes and that. Typing up stuff and that.*

Researcher: *You're interested in that?*

David: *Not really, man (yawns) but I'll do it to get a rest from here, man. Something to do, innit. (91-93)*

John and Martin contrasted work party involvement with the boredom of being confined to their cells and the lack of routine as a result:

John: *When they tell me I'm not going to work parties or that, because of enemies and that. (R: Yeah) Fuck oot. Hate it. Cos I'm stuck in there 24/7. (269)*

Martin: *If I had a work party and was out of my cell, aye, it'd be alright.*
(42)

Martin: *The longest sentence was 2 year, and that was alright, sentenced, had a work party every day. A routine. This is just doing my nut in, in this hall.* (70)

Despite frequent expressions of boredom, participants frequently discussed desire to change their behaviour or skills.

7.2.6. Subtheme A6: Attempting to change

Half of participants described being motivated to change their behaviour, attempting to do so by modifying their communication style, and the language they used, and the tensions they experienced in their efforts to make these changes.

Andrew, who left the study after the interview phase, expressed the view that he knew he needed to change his communication style with others if he wished to succeed in his goal of getting early parole and staying out of trouble:

Researcher: *And...do you think this place has improved your communication skills, then?*

Andrew: *I don't think it's this place. It's just...cos I'm doing an LTP and I've got it says parole an' that, you've gotta fuckin... Just the daft wee things you've gotta stop. Screaming at people, and that. (...) if I just start screaming at people and that, I'm never gonna get parole, and I'll have to dae a full six years, so for me, it's important. ... daft wee guys, they might not give a fuck in here.* (74-75; 78)

James describes his attempts to change his behaviour as a result of greater reflective ability and maturity:

James: I've not been like that for a couple of years. I've just matured up. I don't even... I used to really enjoy violence, I done boxing when I was younger, stuff like that, and.. I don't... I still like violence in a way, like I watching the MMA on the telly, the boxing on the telly...don't even like fighting any more. It just doesn't appeal to me. (41)

James felt that his need to change his behaviour was strongly linked to how he had communicated with others in the past; he offered the view that the best way to enact this change was for him to actively reduce the frequency of his interactions with others both within the prison and outside in the community:

James: Not Polmont, not the prison. Myself. I think I needed to get away from everything. I've cut myself off from the outside world. I only phone 2 people and I write letters to about 3 people. (102)

James also reflected on his ability to keep his cool and the importance of this to his own wellbeing:

James: That's what I'm like now. Now I am. I used to be hotheaded, and off the line (clicks fingers) and go, but now I'm like that (holds out level hand), so. When I get to the stage where I'm bawling and shouting at somebody, that's...there's a journey to that, it's not just (clicks fingers), like the first hurdle, there's a build up to it. (176)

Some participants clearly found this notion harder to enact than others, but expressed the desire to change their behaviours they knew were harming their progress:

Lucas: (...) *I go straight into aggression. All the time.*

Researcher: *Do you ever feel like you'd like to talk about it more, is that even an option?*

Lucas: *Aye... (208-210)*

Stephen offers a reflective account of the importance of changing his behaviour as a protective measure against returning to prison:

Stephen: *It feels if... It feels as if I belong here. I know I pretend I don't, but it feels if...I fit in here. That's something I'm trying to change.*

Researcher: *Why?*

Stephen: *Because...by the time I get oot, if I feel as if I still fit in here, I willnae be that bothered if I come back. (R: Uh-huh) So... I kinda tried... This is my first time in here but I've been in secure an' that, so I'm gonna try... try and get oot the habit of just...the routine of going back in. (135-140)*

Martin describes the tension he experiences when trying to keep his emotions and frustration at others at a manageable level. He describes the importance of keeping his cool in these situations:

Martin: *I'm managing, only cos I think I've got a chance of getting out, but see if I was doing 3 year, man, I think I would end up doing something to one of them in here, like, it's not the fact they're on about me, they were on about my sisters, wee sisters and stuff, your girlfriend. (68)*

7.2.7. Theme A: Summary statements

Theme A, Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning was formulated following thematic analysis of participant interviews regarding their views of their language and communication abilities and importance of these. This theme encompasses participants' feelings and views on their own literacy and communication, their learning, attempts to modify their communication, and the significance of these to them both as means of recreation and a means of life-goal attainment.

Six subthemes were formulated concerning the value and importance participants placed on their communication skills, literacy and learning. The main concepts captured in Theme A are summarised below:

- Communication was defined in mainly social terms, with emphasis on verbal aspects, with some functional examples. Good communication was characterised as dependent on shared understanding and ease of transmission of information. Poor communication definitions were wide-ranging and focused on insufficiency of talk, reduced mutual understanding and unfamiliarity with communication partner. Awareness of differing pragmatic rules between communication partners and setting was also demonstrated.
- Communication was discussed in terms of high personal stakes in the prison environment, but also at a more everyday personal level, mainly in terms of the importance of shared understanding with communication partners.
- Self-ratings demonstrated a range of views on own communicative abilities with some describing behaviours indicative of possible communication disorders and comprehension difficulties. Self-ratings were mostly accompanied by reflective discussion of own abilities with examples provided.
- Confidence in reading abilities was above average for the group. Reading recreationally was not a preferred activity compared to television in the prison. Popular newspapers and true crime literature were preferred

reading content. Writing abilities were rated similarly to reading abilities, with a majority expressing satisfaction. Importance of legibility, punctuation, grammar and spelling was expressed by a majority. Personal letters were the main focus of writing activity and were valued highly, with a few indicating their enjoyment of writing songs.

- Experiences of schooling were predominantly negative, with relationships with staff, lack of interest in the majority of subjects and removal from mainstream education cited. Positive experiences usually centred on interactions with single supportive members of staff or preferences for academic subjects. Preferred subjects included PE, home economics, mathematics and sciences. Lesser preferred subjects were English and Modern Languages. Regret at not engaging with staff support was expressed by some. Experiences of interruption of Further Education by involvement with the justice system were discussed. Educational experiences at Polmont were discussed mostly positively, with long-term benefit to participants upon liberation and short-term reduction of boredom as primary motivators.
- A desire to actively make conscious changes to their communication behaviours and interaction styles in order to provide future benefits on liberation and also avoid further involvement with justice authorities was expressed by some participants.

7.3. Theme B: Exerting Control

Theme B, Exerting Control, captures the reported attitudes and behaviours of participants as they reflected on their attempts to set boundaries on their social interactions; in the interviews an array of interactions was described encompassing community and criminal justice based microsystems.

The subthemes in this section outline consistencies in the attitudes and methods discussed by participants relating to attempts to control their communication experiences, and in particular experiences around conflict and communication breakdown. Participants discussed their approaches and thoughts about dealing with the effects of communication breakdown primarily between peers, whether familiar and unknown. Initially this is discussed predominantly with reference to peers in the prison environment but also, more broadly, with authority figures in other criminal justice environments; these are then contrasted with those in home and community.

This theme comprises three subthemes. The subthemes are described in a sequential manner as an attempt to reflect the order in which interpersonal conflict situations commonly arise: firstly *Anticipating Conflict* pertains to how participants describe their own and other peers' attitudes to difference and types of behaviour that make the likelihood of a conflict situation arising more likely; secondly, *Characterizing Conflict*, describes the typical focus of the conflict situation, how quickly it arises, and participant attitudes towards these; finally, *Dealing with Conflict* examines the ways in which individuals assert control, or have control imposed upon them within the prison environment, for example by modifying their own behaviour and/or adhering to the imposition of social rules.

7.3.1. Subtheme B1: Anticipating conflict

The first of these subthemes is *Anticipating conflict*, which describes attitudes held by participants about peers with which they feel they are most likely to experience

communication breakdown/conflict situations. Additionally, this subtheme describes a preference by participants for familiarity and predictability in interactions with their peers in the prison setting; this leads to a somewhat binary division between familiar and unfamiliar peers and how subsequent communication breakdown was dealt with.

When asked about how they fitted in in the prison environment, participants frequently described characteristics which they felt set them or their friends apart from the “others”, the main prison population. Their responses often centred on a number of perceived features of unfamiliar or non-friend peers that differentiated them as either difficult to interact with or not worth the participant’s time to engage with, and in effect, increasing the likelihood of conflict between both parties in the unavoidable communal interactions characteristic of prison life. From the interview data, these perceived characteristics fell into three main categories:

- *Speech, language and communication differences*
- *Geographical area*
- *Perceived maturity of others and self*

Each of these categories is examined in turn below.

7.3.1.1. Anticipating conflict: Perceived speech, language and communication differences

Key perceived linguistic and communicative behaviour differences between peers were discussed by several participants. They keenly focused on the variations in accent, language content and communication style present in the prison as markers of difference and in turn, markers of a heightened likelihood of conflict occurring.

Several participants found the accents of those from other regions difficult to understand, which, they said, affected their own willingness to interact with others.

Stephen pointed out that he had difficulty with understanding people from East Scotland:

Stephen: *It's just they chavvies wi' their chavvy accent, man, I don't really understand.* (144)

He went on to discuss dialect differences, pointing out, jokingly:

Stephen: *People fae Edinburgh, they say 'ken', like, eh, and that. That's not proper Scottish, that's not proper. That's not right! (laughs)* (144)

John offers a concise summary of how he perceived communication differences with non-familiar peers in the prison; he describes how language variation acts (for him) as a marker of difference. Similarly to Stephen, he describes his own peer group's speech and language style as a marker of distinction from other groups:

John: *That's what I'm saying, the way we talk, we've got our ain, people say it's slang, but it's no slang, you know what I mean, we've got our ain way of talking to each other, aye...* (254)

John then goes on to describe how differences in non-verbal communication behaviour might contribute to communication breakdown and increased risk of violence between individuals from different peer groups. He describes the ways in which non-verbal behaviours may be misinterpreted between differing groups:

John: *Their language and that...their body language, the way they stare at you, and they think it's alright... (147)*

John: *(...)there's a few boys in here who've obviously don't get what I'm talkin about, or...er....aye. The way, it's all done by expression and that, and all that, with our eyebrows, or you scrunch your face and that, they think you're being aggressive, do you know what I mean, so, erm, aye it can end up, aye it can end up turning into another thing an all that. Turning into a physical fight or something. (254)*

John also described differences in language norms between his own peer group and those of non-familiar peers from East Scotland. This second group, according to John, tended to use informal language and humour that was not considered acceptable by his own peer group; again, he describes how this lack of acceptability could lead to aggression and a subsequent increased risk of violence between peers:

John: *(...)whereas other boys fae where I'm fae, because they might be speaking, certain words we use, and that, that we don't call each other, do you know what I mean? Like, we don't call each other poofs and pussies and shit like that, do you know what I mean, and we don't take that lightly, do you know what I mean, whereas some of the other boys fae Fife and Dundee and that, they do do that, they all think it's alright, do you know what I mean. (R: Like, joking...?) Aye, but sometimes we don't take it as a joke. (61)*

John: *It's the way they talk, you know what I mean...they come across dead cheeky to me... (145)*

In contrast, Alan offered the view that a different accent could impede understanding occasionally but as his experience of interacting with peers outside his own circle increased, this became less of an issue:

Researcher: *What about other people here? Like, do you understand them?*

Alan: *Depends where they're fae, most of them, aye, you pick up all the...you know all the accents now, I've been in that many times. Know where they're fae and that.* (153-154)

All three participants (Stephen, John and Alan) offer their views on how accent, vocabulary and non-verbal behaviours could affect interaction with peers by making them harder to understand and making communication breakdown more likely. In doing so, they also describe how these primary, immediately perceptible markers of difference may also place an individual to a particular geographical region; more participants discussed region as a strong influence on likelihood of conflict occurring between peers in prison as discussed below.

7.3.1.2. Anticipating conflict: Geographical region

Participants frequently described how their willingness to interact with peers was directly influenced by their community of origin and/or region of the country. Participants discussed how they made conscious and reasoned decisions to limit interactions with peers from different geographical areas or social backgrounds. Several discussed experiencing a lack of social interaction in prison because known peers had moved to other parts of the prison or had been liberated.

Regional divisions were described frequently by participants in answer to questions about their willingness to interact with strangers in the prison environment. A majority of participants (n=6) were keen to describe a dividing line between East

and West Scotland. Some participants named social groups as “Chavvies” (East Coast) and “Weegies” (West Coast):

Stephen: *I’m classed as a Weegie, aye.* (148)

Similarly to his attitude to differences in linguistic features, Alan gave one of the more positive opinions of the general dividing social lines in the institution, where young men from different regions mostly kept interactions between themselves but did talk to one another occasionally:

Alan: *At rec, obviously, at pool tables and that, you’ll get...the ones that talk, obviously, the group of pals and that, obviously, just for instance, Glasgow boys and Edinburgh boys they wouldnae like, kinda...(...) Don’t get me wrong, there is a few alright ones, know what I mean? But it’s just a thing.*

Researcher: *People just find their groups.*

Alan: *That’s it, man.* (156-158)

James (from the East Coast) provided his view of how social divisions were laid out in the prison and the difficulties inherent in being from one of the non-majority regions, particularly in conflict situations when an individual might be looking for support from peers from the same area:

James: *I’ve, I’ve never had any bother in prison. Like, people have tried, people from Glasgow and that, like, when I was in a few years ago, that used to be quite a big thing, like, area codes(...)like if you were from Glasgow, you were from Glasgow, if you were from Fife, you were from Fife. Er, if you were from Edinburgh you were from Edinburgh, so like, Fife and Edinburgh were called the Chavvies, and you’ve got Glasgow the*

Weegies, you've got up north, I don't even know what they call the people up north, and that's just what it was like, but when I was on mainstream you're lucky if there was one, two, three boys from Fife in a hall and the rest was filled between like Glasgow and the surrounding areas of Glasgow. So it was like, you had to be quite... You had to be able to stick up for yourself, you know what I mean? (37)

Other participants gave mostly negative personal experience of regional divisions and their feelings about being around or associating with those from other areas:

Stephen (Glasgow): *Well, don't hang out with Chavvies, man, is more with Weegies. (152)*

John (Glasgow): *As I've said, like the Cha... Chavvies, that's what we call them, some of them up here just think they're better than some boys and they think they rule the halls and that, and obviously we just don't take it. You know what I mean? That's the way it is. (59)*

Martin (Edinburgh): *(...) I've got to be in this with wee Glasgow... Glaswegians and allsorts. (62)*

David, who had been living in north of England but had returned to North Lanarkshire, provided a detailed view of his own willingness to associate with others based on region, making a distinction between North Lanarkshire and Glasgow:

Researcher: *Have you got many friends here?*

David: *Not really, man, no. (R: A few?) They're all out now, man.(...) I just talk to people what are fae North Lanarkshire and that, know what I*

mean, I don't talk to anybody fae Glasgow and that man, just... Pure fae my way, fae (town) and that.

Researcher: *So you don't talk to Weegies?*

David: *Nah.* (38-43)

Andrew described a violent incident, identifying the group who attacked him by region (Andrew, "Aberdeen boys"):

Andrew: In 2013, I smashed a wee guy...I punched him about, and I went up there, man, and ended up arguing with all the Aberdeen boys because of it... (174)

However, in John's view, while shared background is a key aspect of willingness to interact with others, more strongly, it is *feelings of loyalty* to one's own community that are at the root of many disputes between peers from differing areas. He offers the view that shared understanding between one's own peers provides security:

John: I think...the thing we maist argue about in here is about schemes, obviously, the reputation and that, where you're fae, you don't wanna let that down, that's the way it's always been in here. Erm... Aye, so it just like always a risk of violence, know what I mean? (228)

In addition to linguistic and geographical markers of differences which were perceived to lead to a greater risk of conflict, participants discussed the perceived maturity of non-familiar peers and how this could also increase the likelihood of communication breakdown between them.

7.3.1.3. Anticipating conflict: Perceived immaturity

Participants often described the majority of their peers in blanket negative terms. Half of participants described peers in the prison in terms of their apparent immaturity in comparison to their own; participants described themselves as more selective than others in their choice of associations, and stated they were unwilling to put up with “childish” or “immature” behaviour – often seen as inappropriate for the social prison environment.

Martin in particular had a strong opinion about non-familiar peers and their “immature” behaviour in the halls, and did not hold back his opinions about how he viewed them as a result:

Martin: *I can't be arsed with people in here, the way I look at them, is immature wee dafties...They act like wee boys in the showers wi their boobies and that. They're like wee idiots, most of them in here. I'm nae like that.* (12)

Martin: (...) *they're all scummy wee bastards.* (60)

Martin: *None of them are friends in here, they're just idiots.* (14)

When asked to discuss why he felt this way, Martin cited his frequent experience of conversations he'd overheard from others in prison where they had used, in his view, inappropriate language and imagery that he found childish and repellent. He returned to these experiences frequently throughout the interview:

Martin: *It's all disgusting. That's why I don't associate with people in here, they're disgusting, on about raping people's mums and wee sisters and*

ripping Dora the Explorer pants off wee lasses. Just disgusting. Even people that talk about stuff like that, it's disgusting.

Researcher: *They're trying to wind each other up?*

Martin: *Aye, all the time. They're like wee bairns.* (28-30)

He also reported that currently some young men were trying to provoke him by saying they had been contacting his girlfriend:

Martin: *People talking about my girlfriend all the time, they don't even know her. (...) Saying they've been getting letters off her, and that. A load of crap. She's fae (place), there's no way they know her.* (6-8)

James stated that he often regarded non-friend peers as insignificant:

James: *(...) I look at these boys who are young and trying to prove a point, I know – it's knowing in my head that they're nothing, they are not even on my radar, they don't even get me paranoid, or anything.* (37)

Alan described his peers in similar terms to James, emphasizing their youth and characterizing their perceived immaturity and need to distinguish themselves as an occupational hazard of prison living:

Alan: *Wee guys.* (164)

Alan: *(...) down here it's just wee guys who want to make a name for themselves. (...) That's Polmont for you, man.* (287)

John also expressed the view that he had a limited number of friends and did not regard the majority of peers as worth his time:

John: Obviously, I distance myself from some people, erm, there's only... three people, four people at the most I talk to up here anyway, like, the rest of the people, I don't even try and talk to them, or... Sometimes, I go out of my way to try and argue wi' people or start something, sometimes, cos I just don't like them in general, do you know what I mean. (97)

The same participants (John, Martin, Alan and James) stated that they wanted to move to "cons" ("adult" jail) where in their view they would not experience the everyday tensions of interacting with those they considered immature and dealing with their childish behaviour; however, they also made a point of differentiating themselves from these peers by emphasising their comparative readiness for, as they saw it, a new, more mature environment. Martin offered his perspective on the consequences for his peers who did not "grow up" before going on to this new environment:

Martin: I'd rather be in the cons than here, this jail's just full of idiots. People who don't know nothing about anyone. But yet, they can try and bam people up and speak about them. (...). Stuff like that. I'm alright in here but I just don't like this jail cos it's full o' wee guys and idiots. (12)

Martin: They're gonna get a different life when they go to the cons. Cos if they went to the window shouting tuff like that... That'd be it for them. (30)

Martin: I'd rather be shipped off to cons where I could chillax. And do nothing. (62)

Alan emphasised that he was ready to move on from Polmont because of what he saw as immature peers trying to assert dominance over one another:

Alan: (...) all the wee guys are in these halls and they all think they're fucking wee tickets, man. I've grown out of this place. (164)

Alan: (animated) Don't know, you've got your ways, haven't you, man, it's just (...) it's the YOs, man, when in Bar-L and that it'd be a different kettle of fish up there, know what I mean? Down here it's just full o' wee guys who just wanna make a name for themselves. (287)

A similar opinion was offered by James, who felt that he should be moved on to an adult facility because of his age and maturity:

James: The thing is I'm 23 in (month), really I should have been moved on at 21, but they're now keeping me here until you're 23, which I don't agree with, I think that's wrong, I think if you're ready to move at 21, then you should have that opportunity, rather than being kept here because for me, I've experienced it. I'm a lot more mature than a lot of people in here. (8)

James: I think I've just changed, grown up a bit (...) (100)

James: I've done all that and got the t-shirt so, and I've been in and out of jail, and... I think that's where the maturity level comes as well. I get frustrated in here. (37)

James also felt that the provocative peer behaviours he experienced presented real risks to his goal of behaving in a "mature" way, and prevented him behaving in a

pragmatically appropriate manner by sharing humour or sometimes knowing when to stop talking:

James: I'm trying to get out of this way of thinking (...) the hardman mentality, so I don't surround myself with dafties or idiots on the outside, so I don't experience it, so I'll be sitting with boys and we know when to have a laugh, be quiet... (55)

Martin provided a similar view; he reported that he can find controlling his anger difficult when dealing with what he perceives as others' immature behaviour, and he expressed concern about the consequences for himself if his anger got the better of him. He describes particular aggressive or "wind-up" language which lead to reactions he finds hard to control:

Martin: They might see it as a bam up, where they're bamming someone up, how do you think they feel with the stuff they're saying. I've got anger issues, you know what I mean, and that's what they like doing, winding me up, gonna wind me up too much and I'm gonna end up either doing something stupid or doing a long time in here because of somebody like one of them. (66)

7.3.2. Subtheme B2: Characterising conflict

When asked to describe the nature of conflict situations in which they found themselves, participant responses focused on a number of common features: firstly they frequently discussed how often trivial disagreements with peers would then lead quickly to disproportionate verbal or physical reactions.

Secondly, participants often discussed the perceived inevitability of becoming involved in arguments or disagreements. Feelings of being “stuck” or “in it” were described by some, with the use of violence viewed as the primary, most expedient way of regaining control or stability over the situation.

7.3.2.1. Characterising conflict: Starting small

Some participants described how, in their view, a majority of conflict situations began as small, everyday verbal disagreements between peers, which provoked in both parties at the very least disproportionate reciprocal verbal responses, and would often lead to, in their reporting of the scenario, a violent incident. Several participants (n=3) characterised the topics of arguments between peers as “stupid” or “daft”; they showed insight into the disproportionate nature of responses given the often seemingly low stakes involved in the argument. In the examples below, all three participants discuss feelings of fairness around food as a trigger:

Stephen: Stupidest of things, pure silliest of things, like, an argument could start over, like, a spare slice of pizza. And it could end up, like, you could probably end up boxing. Like, it's just the way it is in here, it's like, if say, everybody was getting two slices of pizza, say everybody...say one of the passmen was sorting somebody out with an extra slice of pizza, and somebody snipered it, and they noticed it, man, they'd be like, that, in their gaffs, why were you doing that, why the fuck stealing my bits of pizza, you'd bounce it to reckoning, and start with a bit of doing boxing.

(...) Usually, most of the fights in here are over pure daft stuff, but then there's obviously ones as well that's got more serious stuff. (268, 269)

Michael: Cos in here and that, you argue about something pure stupid, aye, somebody'll owe you, say, a doughnut (laughs). Folk'll start fighting over a doughnut... (laughs) Aye, it's stupid. (198)

Alan: People argue over the daftest things in here. Stupid things, man. You'd be surprised.

Researcher: What sort of things?

Alan: Boy up (hall) was out for dinner, there was only one chicken cutlet left, that boy got it, man, two of them were fighting over it. (R: Like...fighting?) Aye! Stupidest things, man, honestly. (179-181)

Alan describes the verbal arguments that go on through the doors in Dunedin unit in the same way:

Alan: (...) the doors are quite next to each other, know what I mean, so, just noise...noisy as anything.

Researcher: So you hear shouting to different people?

Alan: People arguing and all that.

Researcher: What do they argue about?

Alan: Daft things, man, stupid wee things.

Researcher: What sort of stuff?

Alan: People that have been fighting, they're arguing, shouting through the doors and that. Pain in the arse. (48-54)

Lucas describes how escalation of a small conflict can come from unpredictable and seemingly insignificant interactions:

Lucas: *Just depends, really. You could get in an argument over anything. Like, you go in for a bad tackle at football, you're up, know what I mean, and you're in somebody's face. It just depends. Like, somebody says something bad to you just as a joke and you dinnae take it as a joke, it could escalate that way.* (198)

While participants described conflict triggers as trivial or small, some clearly did not regard the consequences in the same manner. Andrew described the aftermath of what he termed as “one daft argument”:

Andrew: *(...)back in 2013 I smashed a wee guy, he wisnae a wee guy, the same age as me, but I punched him about, and I went up there, man, and ended up arguing with all the Aberdeen boys because of it, I ended up being battered off seven people, and ended up scolding one ae em. Just fucking...one daft argument, fucked.* (174)

7.3.2.2. Characterising conflict: Inevitability of violence

A majority of participants expressed an acceptance of the perceived inevitability of conflict (both verbal and physical) between non-familiar peers, with a number of them giving a view that when a violent situation looked likely, they made a calculated risk on whether to strike first. Physical conflict was, for the most part, particularly seen inevitable once a verbal exchange had begun to escalate in intensity:

Alan: *It just starts, man (punches hand). Mmhm...* (183)

Alan: *And obviously, I've said to them, what, you're not getting it right, but you still get the odd person, man, who'll try and say well, you did mean it like that when you didnae.*

Researcher: *Yeah.*

Alan: *That's you stuck in it, anyway.*

Researcher: *So what do you do then?*

Alan: *Just go for it.*

Researcher: *You just go for it?*

Alan: *They're gonnae do it to you, ain't they, so you may as well get it in.*

Researcher: *In first?*

Alan: *Aye. (189-197)*

Stephen: *There's usually nae other way, like, resolving it here, it's usually going to a box, man... (272)*

Lucas: *It's prison rules, ken what I mean, so they're really classing us as bullies, but we're no, we're just like, you HAVE to, know what I mean? I would have to do that if I had that, know what I mean? (198)*

Michael: *When you argue in here and that, it always leads to fights, uh huh. (186)*

John: *Obviously, it's no... it's not the right thing to do... (236)*

Lucas: *...if it comes to it, you have to stick up for yourself. (234)*

James offers the view that “bother” or conflict situations appear to be beyond one’s control at least some of the time:

James: *I don't really cause bother in here, but there are certain times when it just sort of happens.* (4)

Andrew characterised conflict interactions as a means of regaining social standing:

Andrew: *Mostly...In here it's just a loss of face. That's all it is, that's all, that's what leads to fights. Somebody can walk past and go 'you fuckin' dafty', and you know for a fact that if it was to happen you'd punch him about but it's just a fact of loss of face.* (180)

This view was echoed by David and Alan in their interviews also. David described how maintenance of his personal self-image as someone who would not back down in the face of threat was important; he made a point of stating that he would actively make the choice to use physical violence instead of verbal responses:

Researcher: *If you had an argument with someone, what would you do?*

David: *Fuck knows. Stab them or something.*

Researcher: *(shocked) Would you?!*

David: *(laughs)*

Researcher: *Say something small – they take your plate at lunch.*

David: *Stab em.*

Researcher: *Really?!*

David: *I'd make myself, I'd feel like a bam if I don't.*

Researcher: *Would that be the first thing you did?*

David: *Mmhm.*

Researcher: *Would it matter who it was?*

David: *I'm no' scared of anybody in here, man.* (241-252)

Conversely, Alan offers an insight into the social rules of the prison when describing the verbal alternative as means of conflict resolution and how this could affect social standing:

Researcher: *Do you ever get the chance to actually talk about it, and talk your way out of it instead of fighting, or is that not realistic?*

Alan: *(laughs derisively) You could if you want, but you'll just get called a chicken, man. (216-217)*

In summary, participants characterise conflict situations in the prison environment as quick to arise and an often inevitable consequence of what are initially verbal negative encounters. By extension, they offer the view that these situations, particularly between non-familiar peers, are difficult to control when they arise. Clearly not all negative verbal interactions result in a physical encounter; however, participants discuss how they were not keen to use verbal means to reduce the tension in a situation as this could be seen by others as a sign of vulnerability. Participants characterised emergence of physical conflict between non-friend peers as a socially governed but in the end, self-chosen means of resolving differences. For the majority of participants, this was described as an accepted hazard of having to live in the prison environment.

7.3.3. Subtheme B3: Controlling outcomes

As specified above, participants discussed how they deal with arising conflict situations but also how they dealt with the perceived risk of conflict. Whereas some participants gave the view that that they would have no difficulty with dealing with conflict situations primarily by using violence, they also offered their view on other behaviour strategies they employed to deal with the risk of conflict before it arose. Some discussed not only their behaviour in prison but also their ways of managing risk in the community also. Three particular conflict management strategies were arose from analysis of the interview material:

- *Avoidance*
- *Confrontation*
- *Negotiation*

Participant attitudes and use of each communication strategy are discussed in turn below.

7.3.3.1. Controlling outcomes: Avoidance

In their responses, participants described a tendency to attempt to exert control over their interactions within the prison setting, in the community and in specific criminal justice settings by reducing opportunities for interaction with others. Participants describe their intention to interact with either a very small number of people or none at all both in the prison environment and out in community settings. In this section, the strategy of *Avoidance* in relation to the prison environment, then community, then other criminal justice environments is examined.

Avoidance: Prison

A majority of participants reported that when in main halls and associating with others at mealtimes or in recreation periods, they make a conscious choice to limit

their opportunities for interaction with others; some participants did not specify whether they limited interactions only with peers or with peers and staff. Participants who specified that they limit interaction with peers described reducing their social circle to either a few people or, in some cases, to none at all. In answer to questions about social interaction in the prison, a majority made reference to “keeping my head down” or “keeping myself to myself”:

David: *I don't know, I just keep myself to myself, man. (...) I don't really talk too much in here, know what I mean?* (33, 222)

Alan: *Just get my head down and get on with it, innit.* (145-146)

Alan: *I keep to myself. But if there's... If I need to speak to someone I'll speak to 'em.*

Researcher: *And what about when you speak to the officers?*

Alan: *About certain stuff, yeah, but other than that I keep to myself, really.* (33-35)

James: *I'll bite, I don't just bark, I'll bite as well, you know what I mean, and when I... I act that way, people are like, fucking hell. Right, leave him alone. That's what I'm used to. But I'm trying to get away from all that in here. Know what I mean?* (55)

Martin: *I keep myself to myself. (...) all you talk about is “when you getting out mate, blah blah blah”. Stuff like that. It's crap. I'm not gonna sit and tell people about anything outside cos I don't want them to know, eh. I don't want to tell anybody about my life outside, it's got nothing to do with them...* (42, 49)

Avoidance: Community

Half of participants (n=5) also discussed conscious attempts to reduce opportunities for interaction with peers in the community. Reasons given included staying out of trouble and avoiding returning to prison by picking up further charges through interacting with previous associates.

Alan: I started going with my girlfriend when I got out my last sentence, I basically took myself away from everything, know what I mean? Stayed away from everybody, man, stayed out of jail and that for a good while. I kinda fell out with all my (pals) and that. I just went out and fuckin'...go to jail man.

Researcher: So you avoided having arguments and falling out?

Alan: Aye, just kinda distanced myself, know what I mean? (275-277)

James: This is just getting in that mentality, in that hardman mentality. I want to get away from that, you know what I mean, so when I'm on the outside I don't surround myself around people that are dafties or idiots, I don't do it, so I don't really experience it, you now what I mean? (55)

John: (...) I just...do my daily routine, go to work, come hame, play with the wean, get her bath, get her fed and that, go to bed and then it's just a...daily routine, but my pals and that I've got, obviously, I distance myself fae some people, because I was in that much trouble, ended up in here, all the time, so em, but I have got one good pal, aye, and obviously, we're great. Aye, brilliant. (168)

Researcher: What about out in the community? Do you have someone you can talk to?

Michael: I do, aye, but I choose not to, aye. (168)

Martin: (...) when I got out everything was different. When everybody was partying and that, I'm used to sitting in my cell, all the time, quiet, man and everybody's jumping out...and I just wasn't myself. (...) Took about 3-4 weeks before I got back to normal. I wasnae drinking every day, just at the weekends with my pals and that, even they said I was different. (R: Yeah?) Aye. (R: In what way?) Just quieter, wasn't really communicating, speaking to them as much as I would before. (80)

Avoidance: Police settings

Several participants described an avoidant form of communication within police interviews (n=3) where they would offer a "no comment" reply to all questions as a strategy.

Alan: ...a few times they've interviewed me and basically asked me to like sign bits of paper saying is that what you're saying, are you admitting to it? So, even if I'm saying I didn't do it, saying no comment all the way through, they've tried to give me the same sheet and tried to get me to sign it. (239)

Lucas: I dinnae talk to them, Say no comment. And then they say, end of interview, put me back in my cell. I just didnae talk to the police at all. Like that. (...) So you just...or you just turn your chair around and dinnae talk to them at all, and just face the wall. (174, 182)

John: I always say, "No comment" to everything anyway. Em, but if it's to try and get me to sign and stuff and all that, know what I mean, I just don't, I don't bother. (192)

Participants offered their reasons for deciding to behave in an avoidant manner with police. Responses focused on a lack of trust of police practices during

interview; suspicion of being “caught out” and admitting guilt, and a sense of inevitability of being found guilty and sentenced:

Mark: *Well, the only way I see it is, they've picked me up for whatever, and there's no way they can listen to me, so it's get charged with it, get a court date, jail. That's it. (...) it's just the fact that they're trying to be fly with it (police statement) and basically make you sign off in it even if you say you're not guilty, you don't do it or no comment the whole way through, they still try to make you sign that sheet to say you are guilty and you'll sign off a statement to say that you did do it. (235, 241)*

Lucas: *They think they're gonna trip you, cos you say no comment all the way through your statement, and “would you like us to read this back to you”? Say no comment, obviously, cos if you say yes, they've got you (claps hands) and then they start asking you more and more questions. (182)*

John: *I attacked the polis in the past and that, it's the way they treat you and aw, it's all about the way they treat you. Er... Aye, I hate them. I don't like them. I don't like the way they treat us, either. Erm... Aye, I've been battered...so I just don't ever try and... Obviously, once I get lifted and that, just try and... get in, in the cells as quick as possible and that's it. (186)*

7.3.3.2. Controlling outcomes: Confrontation

All participants discussed using physical violence against peers as a means of dealing with conflict. Of these, a majority (n=9) referred to using or having used aggression and violent means as an immediate response to a conflict situation with a peer while in prison. In answer to the question “If you have an argument or disagreement with someone in here, how do you sort it out?”, one participant (David) reported that he had not been involved in any violent incidents but pointed out emphatically that hypothetically, he would use violence as a primary strategy in these situations.

This category details participants’ descriptions of their reasons for choosing to use aggression and violence as a means of dealing with conflict situations with peers in the prison environment. For a variety of reasons (for example, relative proximity of authority figures, participant emotional state, social rules of the setting or availability of peers), using aggressive or violent behaviour to manage conflict situations is not consistent across all criminal justice settings. The setting focus for this subtheme is the prison, where opportunities for free association with peers, and for conflict, are most frequent.

A majority of participant responses reflect attitudes that suggest using violence to deal with conflict between peers in the prison environment is inevitable. These participants expressed the view that in situations where tension was building due to a disagreement with others, there was often a stark, binary choice to make: either to become a victim of violence or to pre-emptively defend oneself:

Alan reported that his feelings about choosing to use violence against peers during conflicts had changed over time:

Alan: *Aye, the first time I came in...somebody said something to me, I'd (...) think about it, whether to do it or no, fighting, man. Now I just do it, know what I mean?* (205)

His most recent fight - "*the most serious one I ever done*" (Alan, 206) had resulted in him receiving serious facial injuries. He expressed regret at attempting to initially try to de-escalate the situation verbally:

Alan: *(...) usually I would just come out and use my hands, man, but that time I didnae. Fucked myself, man.* (209)

7.3.3.3. Controlling outcomes: Negotiation

This category examines attempts by participants to address conflict situations with peers in the prison by using verbal means of de-escalation to reduce tensions between individuals. Several participants (n=3, Alan, Lucas, John) reported that they did make attempts to de-escalate situations verbally. Alan and John described their perception of the social consequences of attempting to talk down a tense situation with a peer:

Alan: *(snort) You could if you want, but you'll just get called a chicken, man.* (217)

John: *Obviously, (violence is)...not the right thing to do, but at the same time, you don't want them to think you're taking a back seat fae anybody.* (258)

Lucas gave the view that using verbal means to reduce tension was possible but described this in contradictory and aggressive terms:

Lucas: *If they say something, tell them to get a fuckin' grip of theirself. And if they dinnae, you just have to do something about it.* (223)

When asked if they felt it was realistic to de-escalate conflict situations by only verbal means, several participants gave the view that it was possible and then offered their view of how they tried to achieve this. John gave the view that in potentially violent situations he would try to give the other party a chance to smooth over the situation before escalating it:

John: (...) *obviously, I'll say to other people first, what's this cunt talkin' about, do you know what I mean, but if they're just like that, "that's just the way he is" and that, I'm just like that, (punches hand) obviously I'll attack them, but in... That's the way it always has been.* (258)

In a similar way, Lucas described how he dealt with those who might have misunderstood him:

Lucas: *If they say something, tell them to get a fuckin grip of theirself. And if they dinnae, you just have to do something about it.* (223)

One key influencing factor on the decision to use verbal negotiation to reduce a conflict situation is the degree of familiarity between peers. In participant descriptions of conflict situations, there was a significant difference between participant attitudes to familiar and unfamiliar peers within the prison and how this

influenced their choice of action in a conflict situation. Most participants reported that they were more likely to use verbal means to reduce tensions with friends or familiar peers than with unfamiliar peers. Several participants gave the view that conflict situations between familiar peers did not arise at all and so were not an issue:

Researcher: *What if you've got mates in here and they did it. Would that be different? If you've got a friend in here who did it?*

David: *What do you mean? That wouldn't happen, but.*

Researcher: *Because friends don't do that, you mean?*

David: *Mmhm.* (252-256)

Alan: *I would rather do that... Aye. If it's your pal or something... (...) Depends who it is, man. I've argued with hundreds of my pals in here. Sticking in it, being in the same places for so long, man, same faces every day.*

Researcher: *So with your pals is it less likely for you that you'll end up getting physical?*

Alan: *Aye.*

Researcher: *You're more likely to talk about it?*

Alan: *Sometimes... Even if you fight them, man, you're still pals at the end of the day, innit.* (219-225)

Andrew described a situation where friends got involved in a verbal argument that they then resolved with humour:

Andrew: *Oh, just he's one of my pals, I was just sitting playing pool, he called us a dafty or something but years ago, years and years ago he got*

brought in for a rape, but he had nothing to do with it, but obviously I just used that against him, like, if I'm a dafty, man, you're a rapist. It just led into a full-scale argument. Then the two of us just end up just laughing about it in the end, though. (192)

Stephen gives a view consistent with others that friends are less likely to be involved in physically volatile situations:

Stephen: There's usually nae other way, like, resolving it here, it's usually going to a box, man, but if it's one of your pals or something, if it's one of your pals you can sort it out easily, probably easier but if it's somebody you don't really talk to or that, but, you probably end up just boxing. (272)

Lucas describes a firm division for himself on friends and how resolving differences between friends differed from interactions with unfamiliar peers:

Researcher: If it's a mate and not someone you don't know very well...

Lucas: It could be solved there and then. I wouldnae just go in and scud somebody. It takes a lot for me to hit one of my pals. (226-228)

However, even in cases where verbal discussion to resolve differences between friends is more likely, some participants described their difficulties with this. James discussed his concerns about reducing the amount of control he had over how others saw him, where he might be expressing a view to friends without coming across as aggressive or having them think less of him:

James: *If I feel like I'm getting annoyed with someone, I get quite awkward (...) if someone's annoying me, like, even if, like say for instance we're pals or we get on alright, and they start to annoy me, I start getting awkward and I feel like I find it hard to...tell, like I don't want to tell them and fall out with them. And I don't want to tell them and come across as a dick. But I find it hard to find the right words sometimes to describe how I'm feeling. I think that's a big thing. Like I'm able to tell people that I'm pissed off or that but I wanna be able to go there a bit more if you know what I mean. (68)*

7.3.4. Theme B: Summary statements

Theme B, Exerting Control, was derived following thematic analysis of participant interviews. This theme has sought to capture the attitudes and experiences of participants regarding their self-perceived ability to exert control over their interactions, primarily within the prison setting, but also other criminal justice environments and in the wider community.

Participants discussed a variety of behaviours and attitudes relating to this theme as detailed below. The highly regimented routines and strict expectations of behaviour that characterise the majority of interactions in institutional criminal justice settings, act explicitly (by enforcement of rules by staff) and implicitly (e.g. through individual language and communication style, use of routines) to limit options available to the individual wishing to exert control over either outcomes or the behaviour of others. Consequently the majority of conflict situations and attempts to limit or deal with them encompassed by this theme occur within the prison setting where participants often have the greatest degree of freedom to associate with peers; other settings, such as police interview, court proceedings and children's hearings, are also discussed but do not feature as prominently. Where relevant, these interactions are discussed further in *Theme C, Seeking Support*. The main concepts captured in Theme B are summarised below:

- Key perceived linguistic, background and behaviour characteristics affect interactions between peers: *accent, language use, social acceptability of language, identification with a particular geographical area* (whether a scheme, or region) and *perceived level of maturity* in social situations; these are common contributory factors to increasing the likelihood of communication breakdown between peers in the prison environment. Associations are made between geographical area differences and linguistic and communicative differences; these contribute to negative views of peers, particularly with regard to perceptible linguistic and communicative features such as accent, speech intelligibility, and differing linguistic social norms.
- Degree of familiarity and awareness of perceived difference between oneself and peers is a key determining factor in willingness to engage in social interaction and is also as a predictor of outcomes for successful communication experiences or, conversely, of communication breakdown.
- Conflict situations are perceived as inevitable when dealing with peers in the prison environment and characterised as often beyond one's own control.
- Violent conflict situations are perceived as mostly deriving from small and "trivial" everyday verbal disagreements with less familiar/non-friend peers.
- Violent conflict situations are perceived as often arising quickly from these small verbal disagreements.
- Shared and familiar experiences, recognised peer friendships and mutual understanding are a key positive contributory factor to rejecting violent or verbal conflict resolution means and seeking alternative and more social forms such as verbal negotiation.

7.4. Theme C: Seeking Support

This theme examines the ways in which participants reported using their communication skills and abilities to communicate their needs predominantly in the variety of justice settings they encounter. It offers an account of participants' perceptions of the importance of their views being heard and valued within these settings. A particular emphasis is placed here within the reporting of this theme on participant views about their attempts at *being heard* or and *understanding processes*, how successful they felt these attempts were, how successful they feel they were in doing so, and the perceived barriers to their attempts to communicate their needs.

7.4.1. Subtheme C1: Being heard

The researcher asked participants to give their views around their attempts to make their needs known within the variety of settings encountered in the justice system.

Participants were asked about their views on available support for them if they needed to talk to someone in the prison about something personal; some participants discussed their encounters with prison staff in general, others with their own personal officers.

7.4.1.1. Being heard: Prison setting

All participants offered views on their interactions with prison officers. A number of participants spoke highly of their personal officers and the support they offered:

Lucas: *She's really good. She was gonna give me enhanced until I started fighting. But now she was like, erm, if I behave till the (date) she says she'll give me back my standard.* (127)

Mark also gave the view that his personal officer was "good" (Mark, 85).

Researcher: *Have you got a good relationship with your PO?*

Andrew: *Aye, brilliant relationship with him. (120)*

When asked if he had someone he could talk to about personal issues, John gave a quick but qualified response; he singled out his personal officer among the officer staff as someone he trusted, but only to a point. He drew a line at discussing matters outside the prison setting with his personal officer:

John: *(...) obviously, my PO, he's one of the best screws up here, so I get on like a house on fire wi him, but the rest of them are just arseholes. (163)*

John: *You could say, right... If it's a family issue, something like that, I don't talk to my personal officers about that. (220)*

Others discussed their good relationships with other members of prison officer staff and gave the view that they felt comfortable approaching them for support on personal matters:

Michael: *He's alright, aye. (...) He's a down-to-earth cunt, speaks like everybody else, aye. (71-73)*

Alan: *Aye, I get on with, I get on with some of the screws, do you know what I mean, I..cos I know them from all the other times I've been in. So I'm alright with them and they know me and that. Talk to one of them, know what I mean.*

Researcher: *Yeah. So if it's something personal, can you talk to them?*

Alan: *Aye.*

Researcher: *And would you?*

Alan: *Aye. I would do, aye.* (259-261)

Lucas illustrated his positive perception of support from prison officers with discussion of an experience he had with a family member in the same hall who had concerns about him:

Lucas: *Even the prison officers – my wee brother’s down in (hall), open side, and he said to one of the prison officers he was worried about me, and that officer come and seen me and sit and talked to me for a wee while, said, made sure I was alright, if I wanted to do anything stupid, he said, if I ever felt like that, just to give him a shout, and... I done alright.* (125)

Andrew pointed out that he felt he had options when it came to sharing his difficulties:

Andrew: *I’ll talk to one of the screws, or like one of my pals on my side if I...had something wrong.* (136)

Not all participants felt they had the opportunity to talk through personal issues with officers.

Mark: *I just, like, wait till I’m out at rec and that and use the phone, like phone family or friends.*

Researcher: *Do you feel like you’ve got someone here you can go to? Whatever it is?*

Mark: *Not really. (...) (R: So you wouldn't go to staff?) (Mark shakes head)*
(243-245; 246)

Others specified particular grievances which they felt were going unheard. James, for example, expressed frustration that his wishes to be moved to an adult prison were, in his view, falling on deaf ears at Polmont; he considered this particularly unfair in the light of his own behaviour record over the previous two years of his sentence. While he had positive regard for one particular officer, his frustration was framed as a lack of respect from other staff:

James: *It's weird to say it's like, er, I just feel they don't take me seriously, if you know what I mean, like I have a lot of respect for the officers, I've never given them any grief, as I say generally over the two years I've been in here I've only been on report twice, which is not the best but it's not bad, you know what I mean, people usually get a couple of reports in a month. (12)*

James: *There's one officer in here (name), he's brilliant, he's absolutely fantastic, he tells you how it is. He doesn't... The officers in here always, they're in their own bubble, you know what I mean, the way they see it is they could just say no and not given it, not give a reason why, and then they wonder why prisoners start calling them arseholes and getting short with them, and you know what I mean, there's no respect to them. (18)*

Some participants describe the importance of value of reciprocal respect between staff and prisoners in motivating participants to make views known. Andrew, despite being placed back onto standard status due to his recent infractions, felt that his personal officer was being fair and treating him respectfully:

Andrew: *She's really good. She was gonna give me enhanced until I started fighting. But now she was like, erm, if I behave till the 1st of May she says she'll give me back my standard.* (127)

Stephen gave the same view around reciprocity, while John described the importance of giving views respectfully in the SRU as, in his view, officers also valued this way of communicating:

Stephen: *I give everybody a bit of respect but only as much as they'll give me.* (260)

John: *All depends, how you are with a screw, obviously, officers, when you first go down there, obviously, if you're...bad towards them, or take them in a way they don't want to be taken, they do the exact same to you, do you know what I mean, they leave you with nothing and make you sit all day shouting the doors, or if you don't know anybody there, you're stuck there just looking at four walls or sleeping all day, so...that's how it is.* (42)

7.4.1.2. Being heard: Peer mentoring

The peer mentoring support scheme was mentioned by a few participants as an additional means of support. Interactions with peer mentors were discussed in very different terms by participants and highlight the complexities of seeking support from peers in a closed and highly visible social environment like the prison. While Stephen gives his view of the perceived consequences of being seen to go to a peer mentor for support, John's shared experience with particular mentors means that he does not seem to be as wary of going to him for support:

Stephen: *There's peer mentors in the hall (...) you can talk to them and that, but, I wouldnae do it because if you get seen talking to them, like, other people in here could see that, aye, he must be...he must be broken or something. (...) ..they'll talk about it, and then obviously they can just start pickin' on people if they seen it. (R: Yeah, cos you seem a bit vulnerable?) Mmhm. (204)*

John: *(...) there's Samaritans listeners and that, which is obviously, not on my side, it's a boy who, through my scheme and that, do you know what I mean, so I...I can trust him, confide in him, do you know what I mean, so aye, I talk to him if he's got the time, aye. I can talk to him, aye. (178)*

7.4.1.3. Being heard: External support

Some participants gave the view that they did not feel they could contact anyone for support with personal issues within the prison and instead would wait for a trusted individual from an outside agency to come in:

Researcher: *If you had something personal to talk about in here, do you have someone you can talk to?*

David: *Not really, no.*

Researcher: *OK. Do you wish you had someone to talk to?*

David: *No. Well, I talk to my drug worker or whatever in here, everything. (...) I talk to him about everything, what I do outside and that. But he wouldn't want to say to anybody, know what I mean. (R: He just listens?) I tell him everything, know what I mean? (213-216)*

John qualifies his previous comment about not wishing to discuss family issues with personal officers:

John: *I'll wait until (name), that's the guy I work with on the outside, obviously, I've been working with him a few year, I wait til he's up, cos he was up every week seeing me, and I'll speak to him. (...) I find him, I can talk to him because I can trust him, and I think he understands where I'm coming fae and that, so... (220)*

7.4.1.4. Being heard: Prison healthcare staff and getting support

Some participants discussed their perceptions of their own health needs and the quality of and level of support they received from prison healthcare staff. As was common in this participant sample, views were mixed. However, a majority of participants who expressed views in this area said that they had some satisfaction at being able to get the opportunity to discuss and deal with their health problems by self-advocacy and discussion with a variety of healthcare and support staff. A range of health conditions and situations were discussed between the researcher and participants, with mental health and addictions standing out as the two main topics. Those participants who discussed this area readily gave their insights into their needs as healthcare service users.

Lucas: *Healthcare staff help me a lot. Like when I feel depressed and that, mental health come and see me and talk to me, and see what's wrong with me. (125)*

Stephen: *I think the nurse come in, she's... When I first came in, when I just came in, it was anxiety, pure bad anxiety, erm... That's, just, just that nurse that came in and seen us a couple o' times, gave us a wee booklet thing, on how I can control anxiety, er, helped a good bit, so it did. (166)*

Michael: They're alright at letting you know what's going on an' that, aye.
(68)

Andrew, James and Lucas spoke about their mental health needs to the researcher, in particular gave their views on the importance of active involvement in communicating one's needs to those around them, referring to previous life experience as a key influencing factor in their decisions to discuss these issues more in an attempt to reduce their impact in the future.

Andrew's described a confident and clear approach of getting clarifications from healthcare staff in their interactions:

Researcher: *Do you always understand?*

Andrew: *Aye, cos if they don't... If I don't, man, I'll say to 'em, you're gonna have to fuckin' speak my language, obviously.*

Researcher: *Alright. So you're confident enough to say "I don't get that".*

Andrew: *Aye.* (97-100)

Lucas offered candid views regarding the support he had received, and the importance he placed on interacting with staff in a proactive way to get his health needs met:

Lucas: *My mum found me foaming out my mouth lying on my bed, so I suppose aye, you do really need to talk to people sometimes.*

Researcher: *And so did you start talking to people after that?*

Lucas: *Aye, aye, aye. Like the probation, and seeing my social worker, talk to my doctors, and they diagnosed me with depression and anxiety, aye.*

Researcher: *That's one of the things about depression, it can stop you wanting to talk to people.*

Lucas: *Aye. Feel like you're stupid if you go and talk to somebody. You feel like you're alright one minute, next minute you just feel funny. (R: Yeah.) Just, "nobody cares". (85-89)*

James discusses the importance of talking about one's needs to trusted individuals who can help, or the "right person", as he puts it:

James: *I make sure that I go, like, if I...whatever's wrong with me, I make sure I get the right person, if you know what I mean, I makes sure I get the right person. So if my mental health's bad, I'll see the mental health team, I'll see the psychiatrist, if... If I need something from the doctor I'll see the doctor, you know what I mean, so I'm going specifically, like. (140)*

James in particular discusses the difficulties inherent in accessing opportunities to talk to supportive people about his problems at the opportune times when he needed them:

James: *I would just say the fact that my mental health is a big thing, just my mental health cos I can't really do nothing about it but take medication, speak to a psychiatrist. On the outside you can go to family, you can go for a walk, you can do what you want, but you're locked behind a door, and that's the worst time in here for hearing voices and seeing things. (184)*

Other participants described what they saw as a clearly less positive experience of attempts to get their needs met by staff where sometimes they did not understand

what was required of them. David in particular reported difficulties with understanding healthcare staff as a result of his learning difficulties:

Researcher: *Do you always get what they're saying to you?*

David: *Not really, no.*

Researcher: *What sort of stuff do they say that you're not...sure about?*

David: *They come out with mad stuff sometimes, I can't even remember. I speak to a few healthcare nurses, I kinda see them now and again, know what I mean? Like therapists, psychologists and stuff like that. Just people my maw sent to see me while I've been in here. (...) I don't know what they're on about.*

Researcher: *Do they explain stuff to you?*

David: *Aye, they do. They try and make me do mad fuckin...I dunno.*

Researcher: *What like?*

David: *Mad shit.*

Researcher: *Like what?*

David: *Doing stuff, they'll ask me stuff and that but I dunno what they're on about, know what I mean? (140-151)*

John described mental health problems he had encountered in the previous year. He also had unclear recollections of interactions with healthcare staff and reported a high degree of dissatisfaction about clarity of communication and action from staff. He went on to describe his unwillingness to raise a complaint or discuss the issue again with staff as both a conscious choice and a means of emotional self-protection:

John: *Last year I tried to hang myself in here, because I went through a bad time and that, my auntie and that died, and she brought me up. Last time I came back in I had anger problems and...they thought I was depressed, know what I mean, and em, the guy from the health centre*

came up and he done like, a wee... I dunno what to say, he come in and asked me questions and that, asked me how I felt and that, obviously he said he'd maybe come back and see my in two weeks or get me doon to the health centre, but that was in October, end of October, so... Here we are the day and they've still no seen me. (159)

John: I'm no' wanting to go and put a complaint in and then they come back and start talking to me about how I was depressed and all that, and it starts plaguing my mind again. (163)

While he was of the view that his communications with healthcare staff had been unsatisfactory, he described the support he received from familiar, trusted external agency staff as much more successful for him in terms of meeting his needs. He describes this member of staff as acting as an advocate with prison staff:

John: People who I've worked wi' on the outside before, and that's what I'm saying, he comes up here, he knows straight away like what it's all about, being on the lookout, like how...how bad I'm on and that, wi' depression, what I was before, and...he understands, aye, so, that's he went straight to the officers up here and told them straight like, how I'm ontae, know what I mean, sometimes I can be vulnerable, you know what I mean.... (174)

Martin described feeling like he was a lower priority due to being on remand despite making attempts to seek healthcare provision:

Martin: I'm meant to be on anti-depressant tablets but they haven't come to see me about them. I put my name down for the dentist, cos I had toothache. Never heard anything. Nope. Could be waiting weeks for that,

could be a tooth you need fixed, and you're not even getting the help for it.

Researcher: *Is that cos you're on remand?*

Martin: *I think so, aye. (...) They don't really care. It's a waiting game.*
(122-126)

In addition to discussion of experiences in custody, the other main significant area of discussion for participants in this area was their experiences of barriers and supports when interacting with Panel Members during Children's Hearings.

7.4.1.5. Being heard: Children's Hearings

Some participants described their experience of Children's Hearings. Giving a child or young person the opportunity to provide their views is central to the ethos of the Children's Hearings System (Children and Young People (Scotland) Act, 2014). Recalling these experiences, participants gave a view on the degree to which they had felt listened to by Panel Members during the Hearing, their views on the decisions made about them, and described scenarios where their interactions with Panel Members were coloured by the tone or content of the discussions.

A few participants described feeling as though the opportunity to give their views had been subsequently reflected in decisions made about them by Panels. Martin described coming to Panels frequently due to the number of charges he had amassed; he was of the view that the Panel had made the right decision to place him in a secure unit and that they had taken his views into account:

Martin: *Aye, they listened to me, aye. I must have been to about 20 Children's Hearings before they actually put me in a secure unit. So it was alright.* (113)

Alan and Stephen both recall their memories of giving views in Hearings where they describe increased confidence with age and experience and how this allowed them to offer views more freely:

Alan: (...) I never used to speak up for myself at panels, then when I got older, just kind of thought to myself, "They don't even know me, man", just telt them how it is, kinda thing, know what I mean? (239)

Stephen: I think I was just saying what they wanted to hear, but then as I went through secure on the way to a couple of other panels I started to kinda, like I was listening to what they were saying and that, and I was paying attention... (210)

Some participants discussed the social distance between themselves and Panel Members and how this affected their willingness to give their views or in some cases, prompted impatience and sometimes aggression in their responses during Hearings:

Mark: (...) like they would just, er, stick me in there for...just normal everyday people, like, especially cos one of the times, they turned around and he was like, "Oh, yeah, I drive the buses", like, a pretty random normal day to day people deciding what's happening with me, whether I'm getting put in the secure unit again, or whether I'm getting moved to a different place. (...) Or if I'm going back to my family or not, so...it's just...not really right. (...) Like, it's... That'd be like me turning round and saying to them, like, oh, your kids are going in care. We've only just read through the paperwork, we don't actually know what you're like, so. (211-214)

Alan: *They try and talk as if they know you, but they're just fuckin...volunteer members off the street who don't know anything about you and just sitting with a bit of paper, know what I mean (...)* (239)

Andrew commented on the process of attending Panels and listening to his own personal history being discussed on each occasion by unfamiliar Panel Members:

Andrew: *(...) I didnae like it, I didnae like what they were saying, cos obviously when you go to panel it doesnae know, it doesnae matter if you have one at one day then the next day they've got to start fae the very beginning of your life, then just bring everything up so it's just the heavy pain to go listenin' to that.* (131-132)

He went on to wryly point out that, in his view, having his opinions about his future heard and acted upon by the Panel had negative outcomes:

Andrew: *Aye, when I was 16, at a panel, I went to go intae secure, social work wanted me to go back to secure, and it was a woman I knew for years, she was, "What do you want?" To get off the Supervision Order. She was like that, nae bother, took us off it. I was in here about fuckin' two month later. (...) I don't think they should have took us off it. Cos I'd been saying it all they years, but, they've just fuckin, I think they just finally gave in. (Andrew, 138-140)*

Stephen and Mark characterised their experience of decisions made by Panels as *fait accompli*; while in their view lip service was paid to gaining his views, what they offered made little difference to the outcome:

Stephen: *They don't really pay attention to your views as much.* (212)

Stephen: *Aye, they ask you what you think, say if it was like, a learning plan, they ask you what you think about it, and then, it doesn't really matter, your opinion but, in panels, it's just like...whatever. They kinda ask you what you think, then they want to do it – if they say you need to do it, you need to do it.*

Researcher: *Alright. Did you feel listened to, ever? Did you...?*

Stephen: *I felt listened to, but I felt as if... they didnae...they didnae...they did listen to me, but they didnae dae as much in my favour, if you know what I mean.* (200-222)

Researcher: *And did you feel, when you were there, like they listened to you?*

Mark: *No.*

Researcher: *Did you get a chance to speak?*

Mark: *(exhales, shakes head).*

Researcher: *Not at all?*

Mark: *No.*

Researcher: *Did you go a lot? A lot of panels, or a couple...*

Mark: *Er, well, yeah, every time I was picking up charges. Even at that, I would end up arguing, or trying to fight with one of them or chucking chairs at them, so it'd still bring up more charges.* (217-223)

Alan felt that the likelihood of being heard at Children's Hearings was unpredictable and dependent on the characteristics of a Panel on any given day:

Alan: *Sometimes I just sat there and didnae really care what they were saying, man. Cos I was already in through the courts and I wasnae bothered with em, know what I mean?*

Researcher: *Yeah. Did you feel listened to?*

Alan: *Uhhuh. Sometimes. Depends. (239-241)*

In contrast, Lucas and Stephen characterised their experiences as predominantly adversarial with Panel members and depending on the support of his social worker.

Lucas: *They sit and judge you. People that never met you afore. Think they're better than you. I used to sit and argue. (...) And like, my social worker used that have to tell them, stand up and tell them that, er, they were wrong at one point, and they were just judging me by the way they seen me, and they weren't looking at me or anything, and er, they started like, interrogating me, my social worker had to stand up and say that was enough. (150)*

Researcher: *And what do you think could have been better about it?*

Lucas: *Just their attitude. The way they talk to people. (158)*

Stephen recalls a situation where particular Panel Member judgments upset him:

Stephen: *(...) see somebody, like, when I got out of secure, the things they'd say to us, like one time I was sitting in, and then a guy called, a guy called us a junkie, technically if I was a junkie, I'd be like that, better not fuckin try and call us a junkie again, and that! I had to walk oot the room, an all, so I did. (210)*

Participants thus offered predominantly negative views on their experiences of interactions within the Children's Hearings System, with a lack of trust in the authority of Panel Members, and feelings of powerlessness and frustration described. These feelings contrast with their views on their understanding of justice system processes as described below.

7.4.2. Subtheme C2: Understanding processes

This subtheme seeks to illustrate the participants' understanding of justice system processes in three differing contexts: firstly, the "everyday" experience of living within the prison and understanding its prison processes and rules; secondly, participants' experience of what they understand when appearing at court; and thirdly, their views on their understanding of what is happening during investigative interview by police. Sections are headed as follows:

- In prison
- In court
- During police interview

7.4.2.1. Understanding processes: In prison

Participants were asked to give their view of their understanding of prison processes and rules. A clear pattern emerged that a majority of participants gave the view that they understood everything that went on in the prison as a result of their repeated experience of having undergone justice processes:

David: *Oh, I understand. Everything.*

Researcher: *The rules and routines, and...*

David: *Aye.*

Researcher: *It's all explained to you OK?*

David: *Aye, I know. I've been in the jail a few times, I know... (118-122)*

Researcher: *You've been coming here since (year) – is there anything you don't understand?*

Andrew: *No, you learn everything over the years. (88)*

Alan, Stephen, James and Lucas all supported this view also, offering their views that given the number of times they had been in Polmont and their level of experience meant that in their view, they had no difficulties understanding rules and processes. Alan and Stephen admitted that initially they had found getting to grips with routines more difficult but in Stephen's case, being given more privileges and greater freedom within the prison had improved his confidence:

Alan: *(...) I know everything basically in here, man. When I first came in I wasnae all too sure about it. Honestly in a few weeks you just get to know the place, man. (152)*

Stephen: *It took me a while, it took me a few months to understand like, pretty much, most things in here, because when I came in, I was like that, pure...overwhelmed. (R: Yeah, I bet...) That's...it took me a few months to get...to get that sorted, man, but after I got it sorted I kinda got the hang. Cos see when you're at the pass as well, you're out your gaff most of the time, so ye get the hang of things much easier. Shouldn't be daein' half the things anyway! (142)*

James: *No, I'm quite clued up that way, I'm always, I always like to be one or two steps ahead of the game. (124)*

Lucas: *Went from a young age. (smiles) (186)*

Asked about the decisions being made about them, and if they understood why these happened, a few participants offered a view that sometimes they did not understand decisions considered to be in their best interests:

John: *Aye, you do a punishment, you have to dae it, you take it on the chin, but...I don't think it's fair doon the digger, to be honest with you, I think, taking boys er tellies and stuff like that away from them if they've got to put them doon the digger, aye, put them doon there, keep them away from everybody or don't let them oot, Communicate with them. But gieing...not gieing them a telly and that that's just gonnae play on their mind, know what I mean, stuck in a room, looking at four walls, thinking about stuff. It can hurt them, know what I mean? Mentally. (149)*

Martin echoed this view that he could not understand what to him seemed like arbitrary or inconsistent decisions made by staff and a lack of satisfactory communication of these decisions:

Martin: *But they dinnae really speak to guys about how they feel, and what they want in life, and they never give people a chance. They've given people... They bang people up all the time when they're in fights, but they'll still get the pass or get out on the tag, but they never really come and speak to people one by one, do they? (74)*

7.4.2.2. Understanding processes: In court

Participants were asked about their perceived understanding of what went on in court proceedings. A clear pattern of expectations of support emerged here in their responses, where they did not and did not expect to understand court proceedings. Participants described situations where they could not process or understand proceedings. Some participants described not understanding what judges said during proceedings, giving fast speech or inaudibility as a reason, and turning to their lawyer for an interpretation:

Andrew: (...) *before you go up into the dock, your lawyer explains everything that's gonnae happen to you.* (166)

Researcher: *What about in court, did you get what was going on?*

David: *Mmhm. Sometimes. Sometimes I don't really understand the judge, what he's talking about, man, know what I mean, but my lawyer tells me, aye, know what I mean.* (209-210)

Stephen: *Depends what judge it is, if it's a judge that kinda speaks clearly, then I can hear him. But if they doesnae speak clearly, then I can't hear them.*

Researcher: *You can't hear them and do you understand them, or do you feel like...?*

Stephen: *No, they kinda rush through what they say, and when the PF says it, man, sometimes she rushes through it as well. (laughs) And I need to ask my lawyer or something, or the G (guard) for the next person, taking me up, I'm like that, "What did he say?"* (243-245)

John gives the view that he did not understand anything that happened in court. He explicitly mentions the vocabulary of the courtroom as a difficulty and again depends heavily on his lawyer for support and interpretation of a judgment:

John: I always tell my lawyer to address me, like, once I'm in the dock and that I always tell him I don't understand half the time what they're saying and that, so he'll like come and say to me, while I'm standing in the dock and after it, obviously, if I get remanded, he'll come back down and see me, but if I'm getting something through court, he'll turn round and tell me in the dock, he'll give me the nod to tell me I'm alright. (194)

John: None ae it. (...) No. Obviously, I know about certain things, like if they put me on a restriction, under a Community Payback Order, I know that's got (...) or a tag, or curfew, I know all that, know what I mean, but em, like other stuff, the way, when they're talking about like who we are and what we do as individuals, but sometimes they'll use words that I don't understand and that, so my lawyer will tell me basically what they mean, and stuff like that. (202-204)

Both Alan and Michael offer a view that they do not engage with the court process at all and describe proceedings as having an air of inevitability:

Michael: In the court I don't really listen, eh. You just hear "custodial sentence" and you just patch it, aye.

Researcher: That's what you pick up, you hear "custodial sentence" and then...

Michael: Aye.

Researcher: But the rest of it?

Michael: Doesn't mean nothing to me, eh. (128-130)

Alan: *I didnae used to, I didnae really listen to what folk said in court and that but after that many times, you kinda know everything, know what I mean? You expect what's coming, man.*

Researcher: *Does your lawyer talk to you?*

Alan: *Usually before it or something. She'll tell me what's happening, but usually you expect what's happening anyway. (249-251)*

Lucas gave a rather stark interpretation of his own abilities and his need for support from his lawyer:

Lucas: *My lawyer talks for me anyway. (...) I'd be like a mongol if I tried to talk in the court. (laughs) I just let my lawyer do it. (170, 172)*

7.4.2.3. Understanding processes: During police interview

As discussed in *Theme B, Exerting Control*, avoiding overt communication of guilt or motivation by using the “no comment” strategy was a common feature described by participants of their interactions with police. This “no comment” strategy is commented on by a couple of participants when describing their own perception of police interactions; they give the view that their understanding of the situation is clear. Whereas in the court environment, participants are likely to report that they have no or little understanding of what is happening, with police interactions, there is a sense that participants consistently attempt to gain an “upper hand” and refuse to engage; simultaneously, they report a full understanding of the situation, characterising police as trying to trick them into signing statements or admitting to offences. Similarly to their description of court proceedings, some participants gave a view that interactions with police lead to an inevitable conclusion – being charged with an offence:

Mark: *Well, the only way I see it is, they've picked me up for whatever, and there's no way they can listen to me, so it's get charged with it, get a court date, jail. That's it. (...) A few times they've interviewed me and basically asked me to like sign bits of paper saying is that what you're saying, are you admitting to it? So, even if I'm saying I didn't do it, saying no comment all the way through, they've tried to give me the same sheet and tried to get me to sign it. (235, 239)*

John: *Aye, I hate them. I don't like them. I don't like the way they treat us, either. Erm... Aye, I've been battered by polis and that so..so I just don't ever try and... Obviously, once I get lifted and that, just try and... get in, in the cells as quick as possible and that's it. So I don't need to take anything to do with 'em. (...) I don't even bother, em, statements and all that, when they try and take statements (smiles) I always say, "No comment" to everything anyway. Em, but if it's to try and get me to sign and stuff and all that, know what I mean, I just don't, I don't bother. (186, 192)*

Lucas: *They think they're gonna trip you, cos you say no comment all the way through your statement, and "Would you like us to read this back to you"? Say no comment, obviously, cos if you say yes, they've got you (claps hands) and then they start asking you more and more questions. So you just...or you just turn your chair around and dinnae talk to them at all, and just face the wall. (182)*

Offering a different perspective on his interactions with police, Stephen still adopts a dismissive tone about his understanding:

Stephen: *Depends how sober I am. (laughs) If I'm sober enough, then aye, I'll be able to understand 'em. (241)*

7.4.3. Theme C: Summary statements

Theme C, Seeking Support, was formulated following thematic analysis of participant interviews. This theme encompasses participants' feelings and views on seeking support for their understanding and opportunities to give their own views in predominantly criminal justice settings, but also the past educational and welfare settings they had encountered.

Two subthemes were formulated within the main theme. The first *Subtheme C1, Being heard*, concentrated on participant views of motivations to be heard and understood in justice settings. *Subtheme C2, Understanding processes*, captured participant views on their motivation and ability to understand what was happening to them in a variety of justice settings. The main concepts captured in Theme C are summarised below:

- Expectations of communication support, both in terms of understanding others and processes or assistance with expressing one's views, appear to be influenced by prior experiences within justice settings.
- Expectations of communication support within justice settings differ between settings, leading to differences in engagement with authority figures encountered.
- Emotional *peer support* in the prison setting with mentors/Samaritans was considered to be valuable but not always accessed due to concerns around visibility of seeking this support and appearing vulnerable to other peers.
- With *prison officer* interactions, consistent perceptions centred on the importance of feeling heard by staff and being given a reason for decisions; need for reciprocal respect between staff and prisoners; importance of a positive relationship with own personal officer (PO) and importance of opportunities to talk through personal issues with at least one member of prison staff if required
- Within *prison healthcare staff* interactions, there were clear expectations of support from healthcare staff. Key characteristics of interactions with

healthcare staff were an expectation that healthcare staff would provide required support; importance of feeling like healthcare needs are being met; strong need to have healthcare procedures justified and explained clearly in a way that could be understood.

- Past interactions with *Panel Members* at Children's Hearings were mostly characterised as negative and centred around a perceived lack of authority or qualification to make decisions on the part of Panel Members; a perceived lack of respect from Panel Members and commonly adversarial nature of Hearings; occasional lack of understanding of what was happening in Hearings; a sense of inevitability about decisions made by Panel Members.
- In *courtroom* interactions, support needs are characterised as high, in order to understand courtroom proceedings. Interaction with the judge and others within a courtroom setting were characterised by reduced understanding of the language used during courtroom proceedings; reduced understanding of the language used by judges/sheriffs themselves during proceedings. Support received from their lawyer to interpret proceedings and decisions made is regarded as crucial in order to understand what is happening both in real time and in terms of decisions made. As such, an ensuing lack of engagement with proceedings and a sense of inevitability of decisions characterises interactions in the courtroom.
- In *police interview* interactions, perceptions of police interactions are consistently negative, where young people's views are perceived as not heard or important in these interactions. As such, the predominant features of these interactions are: feelings of lack of trust in the police, where officers are characterised as attempting to trick participants into confessing or signing statements; perception of inevitability of outcomes in police interview; reported feelings of confidence and a full understanding of their situation; use of avoidance strategies such as a "no comment" response

during police interview/attempts by participants to gain a perceived “upper hand” and refusal to engage.

CHAPTER 8: *Discussion*

8.1. Introduction

In this section of the thesis the research questions will be discussed firstly separately, linking in with how they are presented in the thesis in *Chapter 3: Research Questions*. The chapter begins with discussion of Research Question 1 around the nature and prevalence of language abilities in the participant group – and its related hypotheses regarding the results of the standardized language assessment and vocabulary assessment. Following on from this is discussion of the findings relating to Research Questions 2, 3 and 4; these findings are from analysis of the qualitative interview data subsequently coded and themed in *Chapter 7 – Findings: Qualitative Results*.

Following on from discussion of the findings and their relationship to the existing literature in this area, both strands of the study are then integrated within the broader theoretical context of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory. Subsequently a discussion and reflection on the study methodology is provided, in particular examining its feasibility and the researcher's experience of carrying out the study. Implications of the integrated findings for practice – both for the speech and language therapy profession and for prison services are then discussed, followed by an overview of possible future areas for research arising from the findings from the study. A perspective on the study's contribution to the knowledge base by consideration of both data strands and findings is offered before thesis is concluded with a final summary and reflection by the researcher.

8.2. Research Question 1: Nature and prevalence of language abilities

Research Question 1:

What is the nature and prevalence of the language abilities of the young people who have been recently segregated?

Hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: 40-60% of participants will perform below normal limits, with 20-30% of participants falling into the very low to severe range.
- Hypothesis 2: 100% of participants will receive a score below 50% in the justice vocabulary assessment.

8.2.1. Summary of findings

The summary presents CELF-4 Core Language Score and informal justice vocabulary results.

CELF-4 Core Language Score: In formal standardised language assessment using CELF-4 (Semel and Wiig, 2006), participant group performance (n=9) on the Core Language composite score was as follows:

- 56% of the group (n=5) scored within normal limits within Average range (CLS 86-115)
- 22% of the group (n=2) scored below normal limits in the defined Marginal/Borderline/Mild range (CLS 70-85)
- 22% of the group (n=2) scored in the defined very low/severe range (CLS <70).

As discussed in Quantitative Findings (Section 6.3), adopting more conservative criteria of -1.2SD from the mean and -1.5SD from the mean in interpretation of Core Language Scores (CLS) has direct effects upon the prevalence of indicated language disorder within the participant group. This in turn has consequences for the level of support for Hypothesis 1a. This is detailed below.

Hypothesis 1a:

- Using a criterion of -1 SD from the 16;11 age equivalent mean, i.e. a CLS of 85 or below, this hypothesis is therefore supported marginally by these results. On the Core Language Score composite measure, 44% (n=4) of the participant group scored at a level below normal limits.
- Using a criterion of - 1.2SD, i.e. a CLS of 80 or below, from the 16;11 age equivalent mean, this hypothesis is not supported. On the Core Language Score composite measure, 33% (n=3) of the participant group performed below normal limits.
- Using a criterion of -1.5SD from the 16;11 age equivalent mean, this hypothesis is not supported. On the Core Language Score composite measure, 22% (n=2) of the participant group performed below normal limits.

Hypothesis 1b:

- Hypothesis 1b is supported by these results. On the Core Language Score composite measure, 22% of the participant group scored at a level indicative of severe language disorder (- 2SD or below).

Informal justice vocabulary assessment: In informal justice vocabulary assessment, the participant group (n=9) scores were as follows:

- Group mean correct score was 15.5 words out of 19 correctly defined (85% of all responses correct)
- Group score ranged between 9 and 17 words out of 19 correctly defined (50-94.7% correct responses)

Hypothesis 2 is therefore not supported by these results. One participant (David) achieved a score of 50% for this assessment. All participants scored 50% or above on this assessment, as detailed in Section 6.4.

8.2.2. Research Question 1: Discussion

Standardised language assessment results and informal justice vocabulary results, and their correspondence with findings in the wider literature, are discussed below. Possible reasons for the findings are also discussed.

Standardised language assessment results

Standardised language assessment results show broad alignment with the findings of other investigations in this area, highlighting the lower level of performance on language assessment for young male offenders. In the current study, only one participant, James, aged 22;10, performed at a level above the mean performance for age equivalent 16;11, with a Core Language Score of 102; all other participant scores fall at the mean level or below for this same age equivalent. James is in fact the oldest participant in the study by some years and his performance is in effect comparable to an adolescent almost six years younger than him. The range of Core Language Scores (50-102) highlights the variability of language abilities for the participant group as a whole.

However, the findings in this study in terms of prevalence of language disorder are still somewhat lower compared to historical formal language assessment findings with other young male offender populations; when more conservative cut-off

criteria (-1.2SD and -1.5SD from the mean) are applied to the group results, we see a further reduced prevalence of indicated language disorder within the group to 33%, then 22% respectively.

Using a -1SD cut-off criterion, the results from the current study display a lower prevalence of language disorder than has been observed in most other standardised language assessment-based studies with young offenders using the CELF-4 Core Language Scores or a smaller range of subtests from this particular language assessment battery.

Most recently, Hopkins et al. (2018), administering CELF-4 Recalling Sentences and Understanding Spoken Paragraphs subtests with young community offenders (n=52, M=16), found an overall mean percentage of 81% for language disorder using a -1SD criterion. Games, Curran and Porter (2012), also using a CELF-4 Core Language Score measure found that 90% of their sample of young community offenders (n=11, M=14;4) had a "language difficulty" using the -1SD criterion. Gregory and Bryan (2011) incorporated CELF-4 subtests (Word Associations, Understanding Spoken Paragraphs and Formulated Sentences) into their assessment battery with incarcerated male offenders (n=58, M=15.15). Participants were identified as having "language difficulty" if their score was below the -1SD criterion equivalent (scaled score of 7 or below): prevalence of language difficulty in the sample was 65%. Alternatively and most similarly to the current study in terms of offender type and sample size, using a -1.3SD criterion, Sanger et al. (2000) found that in a small sample of incarcerated female offenders (n=13, M=15.4y) assessed using CELF-3 subtests, 20% of the sample (n=4) were found to have a language disorder .

Thus for this formal language assessment portion of the study, intra-group performance is broadly indicative of the picture ascertained over the last 10-15 years across the literature in this area with these participant groups, indicating a lower level of language ability with a majority experiencing difficulties with aspects of receptive and expressive language, and within this, clear indications of the presence of language disorder in a significant proportion of individuals in the

sample. Inter-group disparity between results – examination of the differences between the current study and other studies using the same comparison criteria (typically -1SD) and similar formal language assessments – indicates that the incidence of language disorder in the current study participant group is lower than has been found in others. Why might this be? Possible explanations are posited below.

Reasons for lower incidence of language disorder in the current study

Recruitment and self-selection bias: Prospective participants in the current study were contacted using only written communication in the recruitment stages of the study, due to requirements stipulated by the NHS Research Ethics Committee and Forth Valley Research and Development Departments that participants should not be pressured to be involved, and to give them time to give their informed consent. This recruitment method may in turn have favoured participants with sufficient literacy abilities to read the written information and follow the instructions to return the envelope. It is likely that this method may have restricted access to the study for a wide range of individuals who might have otherwise taken part if contacted by other means, for example, messages relayed through members of staff or the opportunity to have a face-to-face discussion with the researcher. Thus potential participants with lower literacy abilities and/or lack of access to sufficient support to understand the written information provided may have been excluded from the study. The recruitment method is different to other comparable studies in that face-to-face interaction with the authors in the Hopkins et al. (2016) and Sanger studies (2000, 2003) was an included part of the recruitment process. In addition, some potential participants may have been overwhelmed by the volume of written information received and simply discarded it. As such, it is a significant possibility that a self-selection bias may have occurred in the sample population due to the recruitment method. The bias in this case would be skewed towards those potential participants with more confidence to participate, a higher level of

literacy, language and communication abilities compared to that of the general prison population, and/or access and motivation to seek support with participating in the study. In turn this may have led to a reduction in how representative the final participant sample was of the offender population in this study in comparison to those in other investigations. For example, Bryan et al. (2007) describe their process of recruitment where participants met individually with the researchers to discuss the project and to gain informed consent. Snow and Powell (2005), working with a liaising adult, describe “approaching” and “seeing” participants before the study with a case worker discussing further face-to-face in order to gain informed consent when initial interest had been established.

Constraints on the recruitment process applied by the Research Ethics Committee and environmental factors such as availability of healthcare staff thus increased the likelihood of self-selection bias in the sample for this study. The lack of available staff to liaise with potential participants in the current study was an unfortunate but unavoidable difficulty. The SLT presence in the prison at this time was also very limited and it was not appropriate to ask her to take on the extra work of recruitment for the study. In future studies, an SLT in the first instance, or members of other staff groups, e.g. prison officers and healthcare staff, could be provided by the researcher with a script and a “frequently asked questions” prompt to talk with potential participants about the study and answer any questions. While written information is vital as a record of the scope and intentions of the study, face-to-face interaction at the recruitment stage, as described in the Bryan et al. (2007) and Snow and Powell (2005) studies would have been preferable as another channel of communication support.

Sample size: The study sample in comparison to other studies in prison environments is small: nine participants in the language assessment phase of the study and ten in the interview phase. Studies into similar populations often involve larger numbers of participants, for example, Bryan et al. (2007, 2011) (n=58) or

Hopkins (2016) (n=52) may not be viable for in-depth comparison due to the difference in sample size.

Informal justice vocabulary assessment results

Quantitative findings for the informal justice vocabulary assessment are striking for their dissimilarity to the rare findings from previous work available in this area with similar population groups. Most significant findings for this portion of the study are the high frequency of correct or partially correct responses when defining justice-related target items: an average score of 14.6 words correct per participant, with a range of 10-18 words marked as correct across the participant group.

There has been very little published work to date examining young offenders' understanding of, and ability to define, justice vocabulary. What exists has clearly characterised offender groups as having difficulty in defining and understanding these words. Crew and Ellis (2008) from the Bradford Youth Offending Team, assessed a very small group of young service users (n=4) and reported that their participants had shown difficulty with understanding or being able to define words from a 37-word justice-related inventory; however a full discussion of results is not available from this report. The researcher is not aware of any other studies have been found by the researcher which directly assess justice vocabulary in this way.

Findings did not support Hypothesis 2 that all participants would define less than 50% of items correct in the assessment. In fact all participants achieved a score over 50% correct, with a range of 55%-100% correct responses recorded. Highest scoring responses for the group were for the following items, where 7 or more participants achieved correctly defined responses according to the specified definition criteria:

Defence, Procurator Fiscal, Custody, Supervision, Conviction, Offence, Attend, Attack, Statement, Not Proven, Verdict, Appeal, Bail and Adjourn.

Lowest scoring responses for the group were the following items, with 5 or fewer participants correctly defining the target item according to the specified definition criteria:

Prosecution, Verdict, Alleged, Guilty and Not Guilty.

All participants offered a response to all items. A total of 171 responses were thus provided by participants. Outright incorrect responses (where participants achieved a score of 0) were rare (5% - 10/171). 17% (29/171) of responses were partially correct (receiving a score of 1). 78% of responses (132/171) were marked as correct (receiving a score of 2).

Of course, this is a striking and, when considering Hypothesis 2, a possibly unexpected result given the evidence to date from the Crew and Ellis (2008) study, which appears to indicate that many young offenders are consistently unable to articulate or comprehend the meaning of the abstract, professional terminology of the justice system.

Also of interest in this current study is an apparent contradiction between results indicating lower levels of language ability on CELF-4 Core Language Scores measures and results in this assessment, for example the case of Lucas, who attained a CLS score of 69 and a score of 18 correct, 1 partial correct on this current informal vocabulary measure. Lucas achieved scaled scores below normal limits in both vocabulary testing measures on CELF-4 CLS subtests Word Definitions and Word Classes (a scaled score of 4 for both) yet provided discursive and consistently correct definitions of the target items on the current assessment, for example:

Alleged: Like, if I arrested you cos you allegedly broke a window, like, you might have, might not have, they don't know, so that's why you get detained. So they can build up enquiries.

Verdict: Like the jury needs to come up with a verdict if you're standing trial. Jury needs to come up with a verdict, the verdict means like make a decision whether you're guilty or not guilty.

Prosecution: *If you've been prosecuted, you've been, like, taken to court for to be charged for the thing you done, or you never done. Which is why you get the option to plead guilty or not guilty.*

Table 8.1 displays justice vocabulary assessment results from other participants with Word Definitions and Word Classes performance within the normal range (Stephen, Michael, Mark and James) in comparison to Lucas's results in the same assessments.

Participant	WD scaled score	Justice vocabulary score
Stephen	8	13
Michael	9	13
Mark	8	15
James	12	17
Lucas	4	17

Table 8.1: Comparison of selected Word Definitions and Justice Vocabulary Assessment Scores

A possible explanation for this disparity in the case of Lucas may be that he has developed expertise in his functional justice vocabulary that benefits him directly in a way that learning and retaining CELF-4 Word Definitions target items such as “fable”, “metamorphosis” and “acknowledgement” has not; Lucas scored 0 for each of these items on the Word Definitions CELF-4 assessment. Lucas spoke discursively and confidently, with examples, about most target items (see Table 8.x). The difference between his results in these two assessments highlights keenly an issue with gaining knowledge about an individual's language abilities through a single standardised language assessment approach, where a higher ability in functional language in particular contexts, such as the justice system, may be missed if not assessed. This only provides a partial view of the young person's language abilities and does not take into account areas of amassed knowledge or even expertise due to accumulated experience. If we are to assess the young person's abilities, it

should be in as holistic and relevant a way as possible in order to gain a true picture of their skills.

As stated previously, the field is highly limited for comparison with other studies examining knowledge of justice terminology. The researcher offers a number of differences between the current participant results and those previously assessed by Crew and Ellis (2008) that may account for this discrepancy between results; it is difficult to say that the studies are necessarily even comparable given the lack of detailed information provided by Crew and Ellis in their description of their court language assessment; however, they do make it clear that the vocabulary assessment was supplementary and highly informal in comparison to the main portion of their project. While there is little demographic information provided by Crew and Ellis about the participants in their court vocabulary portion of their study, participant characteristics between the two studies are clearly somewhat different on a number of dimensions which may therefore have affected the responses they provided in a verbal vocabulary assessment of this kind. Participants in the Bradford YOT project were community-based young offenders between age range 11;8 to 17;9, with a mean age of 15;4. It is likely that due to their youth and remaining resident in community, their experiences of court and justice processes will not have been as intensive, longstanding or consistent as those participants in the current study, a majority of which for which information was available had over 12 convictions and repeated terms of incarceration (see Table 4.x, Methodology section); the mean age of participants in the current study is greater by 5 years than those in the Bradford study. Participants in the current study discuss in some detail how their extensive breadth of experience of the justice system has, in their view, increased their understanding and knowledge of justice processes. These views are further detailed in Section 7.3.2. in Subtheme C2, Understanding Processes.

Another potential reason for higher than expected scoring in the informal justice vocabulary assessment is the same as that outlined above in the discussion of CELF-4 CLS results (section 8.1). It is possible that the sampling method as specified above

led to the recruitment of a self-selecting group, with greater confidence and a potentially relatively higher level of language ability compared to others who decided not to respond. This potentially relatively higher ability group would also have been aware of the interview portion of the study and were most likely not daunted by the possibility of a discussion with the researcher. It is a possibility that this group would then perform at a higher level on an informal language assessment that is relatively unstructured and where cognitive demands are low compared to more formal assessment methods. As such, the assessment was not time-limited, repetition and discussion was permitted, and participants could give a response as long or short as they wished for each item.

8.2.3. Research Question 1: Conclusions

Hypothesis 1a: *40-60% of participants would perform at a level indicative of the presence of language disorder* was supported by the quantitative findings of the study at the -1SD cut-off limit for comparison to normative data for age equivalent 16;11.

Hypothesis 1b: *20-30% of participants would score in the very low/severe range* was supported by findings.

Hypothesis 2: *100% of participants would score below 50% correct in the informal justice vocabulary assessment* was not supported by findings.

8.3. Research Question 2: Views on own language, communication and literacy abilities

Research Question 2:

What do the young people think of their language, communication and literacy abilities?

8.3.1. Summary of findings

As discussed in Section 7.2.3., participants (n=9) were asked by the researcher to rate themselves as communicators on a scale of 1-5 with 1 equating to “poor” and 5 to “excellent”. The group rating mean score was 3.11. Scores throughout the group ranged from 1-5. Some did not provide an exact score but placed their view of their abilities within a range, eg “2 ½ -3” with four participants rating themselves from a point below average to average (1-3); five as average or above average (rating from 3-5). Thus a majority of participants rated themselves as above-average communicators.

Participants were asked to rate themselves on a scale of 1-5 for their reading abilities according to the same criteria as above. The group rating mean score was 3.7. Scores throughout the group ranged from 2 to 5. Eight participants rated themselves as above average readers (rating from 3-5).

Participants were asked to rate themselves on a scale of 1-5 for their writing abilities according to the same criteria. The group mean score was 3.7, with a range from 2.5 to 5. Eight participants rated themselves as above average in their writing abilities (rating from 3-5).

Thus participants as a group viewed themselves as better communicators than readers/writers.

8.3.2. Research Question 2: Discussion

In this section, participant views on, and self-ratings of, their own language, communication and literacy abilities are discussed in the light of the existing research.

Language and communication abilities

A prominent feature of interviews with participants in this area, where they were directly asked by the researcher to discuss their own views, is the reflective approach taken by a majority of the young men when talking about communication abilities and style, their effectiveness as communicators and, in some cases, their desire to change their communication approaches in order to provide themselves with a perceived benefit either in the present or the future.

What might be striking to an “outsider” from the prison system about participants’ self-ratings of their language and communication abilities is the seeming contradiction between high self-ratings of being “a good communicator” and the willingness to describe violent verbal and physical behaviours to resolve conflict a few minutes later in the same interview. However, the reasons for this disparity may derive from the rationalisations and possible compartmentalisations of behaviours participants must adopt while in prison while interacting with their peer group, as further discussed in Research Question 3.

Self-ratings and views on communication ability

Research evidence to date examining the views of young offenders on their own language, literacy and communication abilities is limited. As detailed in the literature review, the published work of Sanger (1991, 2001) and Hopkins et al. (2016) are the only investigations to date to focus on this area, with some additional findings from Snow and Powell (2008). This study offers an additional

perspective in that it provides an account of the views of a group of incarcerated young males with experience of removal from association, in contrast to young people (male and female) on community sentences in the Hopkins et al. study, and young female offenders in community in Sanger et al. (2000, 2003).

In Hopkins et al's (2016) study, over half of participants (n=19, out of 26) expressed dissatisfaction at their current level of communication and literacy ability, with desired improvements often focusing on handwriting ability for literacy and reduced swearing/aggression and greater clarity of speech in terms of communication. In the Sanger studies, a majority of participants described a need to improve their communication motivated by, for example, "feeling dumb" and not understanding jokes, with their self-esteem very closely associated with their feelings around their self-perceived communication ability.

In the current study, a clear distinction can be drawn between how participants view and report their perspective of their language and communication skills when dealing with peers and family compared to how they view those skills in dealing with justice settings; those who spoke about their known peer and family relationships described their interactions in terms suggesting that they coped well with the language demands placed upon them, compared to interactions in more challenging justice and welfare settings as discussed in Research Question 4.

A majority of participants (n=5, out of 9 questioned) describe their communication and language skills as being above average, often offering examples from their everyday interactions with peers and family, where they describe their ability to understand and express their views adequately to meet their needs. A majority (n=8) described their interactions with family in positive terms, for example by describing the importance of showing respect to them, depending on them to share problems with, or enjoying their company and expressing no concerns about difficulties with understanding or conflicts arising. This is echoed in the Hopkins et al. study where a majority (n=22) describe having no difficulties with understanding friends or family due to shared understanding and lack of complex vocabulary use.

Familiarity and shared understanding with friends and family is indicated in both the Hopkins et al. and current study as an influencing factor on how perceptions of communication between both parties are shaped.

This contrasts highly with their views on reports of how participants communicated in other criminal justice settings, in particular, the courtroom, police interview and Children's Hearings. These are examined further below with a view to placing findings within the context of the existing literature in these areas.

Examples given by participants of "poor communication" are similar to those found in the handful of other studies available in this area (Hopkins et al, 2016; Sanger et al, 2003), where aggression, violence, shouting and swearing were cited as common examples; participants in the current study also discussed insufficient talking, poor clarity of speech and low levels of attention and listening. One significant contextual difference between this study and those cited above is the prominence of the prison setting and interactions as an influence on the discussion of communication skills and self as communicator by participants. These views would often be centred on a desire to change in order to make life more bearable within the prison or to avoid coming back to prison having been liberated. Thus participants readily provided accounts of needing to change their communication style, language and behaviours due to a range of precipitating factors but often located their reasoning for this within the prison.

For example, Andrew described a need to change his communication style and associated behaviours – reducing aggression and attempting to "keep his head down" in order to receive parole on time; James's perspective on his developing maturity, his mental health and his emergent realisation that he could no longer adopt the behaviour and communicative style of the "hardman" as it was no longer of benefit to him as a young man attempting to move on to an adult prison. Lucas discussed his personal realisation that it would be beneficial to him to be more communicative with others and ask for help from them, whether with family, peers, and while in the prison, staff members, after his experience of depression and his

suicide attempt. Stephen described his lack of satisfaction and sometimes frustration at how he communicated with his peers, where he felt his lack of attention and sometimes awkwardness around them led to his message being lost or distorted. In turn, he described the importance of reducing his aggressive behaviours in the hope of not returning to prison. Martin discusses his frustration at trying to keep a calm demeanour in the face of mockery and teasing from other prisoners.

Perspectives offered by participants about their interactions in welfare and justice settings provide further and varied information regarding confidence and insight into their own communication skills as detailed in discussion and findings for Research Question 4.

Literacy abilities

Participants discussed their views on their reading and writing skills, and the frequency and content of reading and writing activities, offering a number of views on their abilities and willingness to engage with literacy activities. Views around reading and writing abilities are examined in turn below.

Reading: skills, frequency/preference and content

Eight out of nine participants (88%) described themselves as satisfied with their reading abilities and rated themselves as above-average readers, with one rating himself at 2 on the scale (John). These findings are in contrast to other researchers using self-report measures of literacy ability from young offenders: Hopkins et al. (2016) found that over half of participants (n=19) expressed a desire to improve their literacy skills; Snow and Powell found that 36% of participants (n=18) described their abilities as “not good”.

A majority of participants (77%) reported that reading was not their first recreational choice, in particular in contrast to watching television. Among the restricted recreational choices on offer in the prison environment, both television and listening to music were preferred activities to reading, with four participants stating they would only read if no television was available, for example when in the SRU. This finding is in keeping with that of Hopkins et al. (2016) in terms of degree of preference, where a majority of participants in that study described taking part in literacy activity only at school.

Preference for newspapers was the most common form of reading matter expressed by participants (55%) with four participants (44%) reporting that they read books, with preferences for non-fiction “true crime” content expressed by three of this group. This is the first time this aspect of reading – preference – has been explored in the young offender population and shows that over half read printed materials in their leisure time, despite their expressed preference for watching TV.

Writing: skills, frequency and content

Writing skills were discussed by participants in decisive terms, with half of the group describing their skills positively (n=5), and one (John) describing them as “alright”. The mean group self-rating for writing was 3.7. Four participants described their writing skills in terms of their handwriting legibility; four participants also discussed strategies they used to work around difficulties they experienced with spelling, punctuation and grammar.

A majority of participants described their writing activity as frequent in the form of letters, which they reported was a primary means of communication with friends and family. This is unsurprising given the restrictions on communication in the prison environment. A majority of participants expressed that they valued the reciprocity of letter writing and the importance of remaining in contact with friends

and family. The research literature around prisoner correspondence supports these findings: for example, Maybin (2000) describes the importance of letter writing to incarcerated populations as a “surprisingly powerful” (p. 151) means of self-expression but also as a means of maintenance of self-esteem and existing relationships; Wilson (2000) affirms this point with an account of letter-writing – between prisoners, with authority figures in the outside world, and with the wider social context (friends and family), where the writer is “creating and recreating activities, actions, perceptions and practices drawn from any number of social worlds...in order to sustain and retain a sense of social identity within their day to day lives” (p. 197-198).

Literacy and offenders

Offenders (both adult and younger populations) are demonstrated repeatedly in the evidence base to have a lower level of literacy than the general population. In the language and communication research literature in this area, concurrent investigations of literacy levels were also carried out. Bryan et al. (2007) found that 62% of participants in the study sample had literacy skills below Level 1, echoing those found by Davies et al. (2004) in adult prisoners, with 57% of the sample having literacy skills below Level 1. Literacy skills were not assessed in the current study so the researcher cannot comment on the literacy skills of the current sample.

It has been well established that there are strong associations between impoverished or impaired language development in childhood and longer term poorer levels of literacy (Catts et al, 2002; Bishop and Adams, 1990; Tomblin et al, 2000; Aram and Ekelman, 1984). Given the participant group performance on standardised language testing in the current study, there is a strong case to argue that the presence of literacy difficulties is likely to be higher in the current group than reported by participants. Concurrent evidence for this is behaviours such as low preference for literacy activity and preference for content with a higher ease of reading (tabloid newspapers, true crime books).

8.3.3. Research Question 2: Conclusions

Participants were able to describe features of “good” and “poor” communication in keeping with the results of similar studies asking them to give their views. They frequently discussed social distance between speakers in their descriptions of poor and good communication.

The participant group described their communication abilities as above average; participants appear to view the notion of being a “good communicator” as pertaining more functionally to family and friend interactions than to more rarefied justice and welfare settings. This may well be a function of the reduced language demands placed upon them in more familiar settings.

The participant group described their literacy abilities as above average. Preferences for functional communicative writing activity – in the form of letters and occasionally described social media usage were common. Reading was not a preferred activity for most participants. A preference for true crime and popular newspapers was expressed by participants.

8.4. Research Question 3: Views on interactions with peers

Research Question 3:

What are the young people's perspectives on their interactions with peers?

8.4.1. Summary of findings

A picture of participants' perspectives on their interactions with their peers are primarily taken from the contents of Themes A (Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning) and B (Exerting Control) from qualitative results. Analysis of interview data suggests that participants as a group hold a core set of values that inform their course of action.

From Theme B, participants tended to utilise their perceived level of familiarity with peers as an indicator of the likelihood of successful communication outcomes and willingness to engage with peers. The quality of familiarity between peers was discussed most frequently according to three criteria by participants as laid out in Theme B, *Exerting Control*:

- Observable linguistic/communication behaviour differences to themselves, in particular, *accent, vocabulary* and *adherence to social rules* as initial markers of difference
- Regional differences between individuals – broadly in terms of the “Weegies/Chavvies” West/East Scotland social groupings but also more locally in terms of known schemes and urban areas
- Perceived level of maturity of peers – and concomitant linguistic behaviours such as choice of topic of conversation and worthiness of interaction.

From Theme A, *Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning*, throughout participants' views on general definitions of communication and what constituted “good” or “poor” communication, a number of values are consistently expressed,

with an emphasis on spoken language over non-verbal means: “good” communication frequently aligned with notions of familiarity, mutuality and shared perceptions and judgements about each other, and/or a similarity in worldview. Thus a shared understanding and mutual respect appears to be a crucial consistent quality of good communication to participants. Examples of poor communication were often described in terms of factors that impeded shared understanding, whether described by their absence (not talking), paralinguistic factors (mumbling, clarity of speech, volume of speech) or perceived pragmatic and behavioural factors (being cheeky/aggressive/an “arsehole”). A key explicitly stated third element of descriptions of poor communication was a lack of familiarity, with participants stating that it was much harder to communicate effectively from the start with someone unknown to them. Adherence to shared social rules was also highly important to participants, in particular showing maturity and being respectful. This was another shared quality found within both Themes A and B.

Participants also described a number of courses of action they might employ in order to deal with the likelihood of conflict with a peer in the prison environment: *Avoidance, Confrontation, or Negotiation*; through examples from their own lives and their peers, they described these strategies in context and individual-dependent ways, providing rationalised explanations for their behaviours in any interactions with peers.

8.4.2. Research Question 3: Discussion

Findings for Research Question 3 – on the importance to participants of *familiarity, adherence to social rules, shared understanding* and *shared respect* when dealing with peers, and adoption by participants of simultaneous differing strategies to anticipate or deal with ensuing conflict between peers in the prison environment – align strongly with existing research evidence into associations between making rational choices, uses of violence, and the ways in which incarcerated young men

attempt to deal with the social and personal pressures of living within the daily prison environment.

Factors influencing successful interactions

Findings from the current study regarding key factors influencing likelihood of successful interactions with peers resonate strongly with previous recent work from other qualitative researchers in this area. In particular, the findings of Lount et al. (2017) who carried out interviews with supervised, remanded or sentenced Maori male offenders (n=8), specify the importance to participants of *trust*, *familiarity*, *culture* and *vernacular* as influencing factors in facilitating successful interactions with communication partners, particularly with YJ workers and other support staff. In addition, a loss of control was highlighted very strongly by Lount et al. as a primary theme of participants' daily lives.

Hopkins et al. (2016) discusses the importance to participants of reciprocal *trust* and *respect* from friends, YJ workers, judges and parents in facilitating communication, with a lack of respect leading likelihood of further conflict and resultant aggressive interactions. Sanger et al. (2003) describe the significance participants placed on *trust* with YJ workers and friends as a means of maintaining meaningful relationships.

Awareness of pragmatic rules and codeswitching

A key difference arises between the current study and previous work in this area due to the fact that in the current study participants are imprisoned, with greatly reduced control over living arrangements and those with whom they might come into contact on a daily basis. As such, participants often described efforts to exert control, as specified in Theme B, over their environment and communication opportunities with peers. They described the importance of alliances and

friendships, how these were defined, and the distinctions they made in terms of their own behaviour and attitudes between friend and non-friend peers.

Similarly, as a group, participants were able to identify features of “good communication” as specified in Theme A. In particular their responses describing “good communication” focused on its verbal aspects with “speech”, “speaking” and “talking” featuring prominently, as did familiarity and comfort with the speaker, in particular with friends and family. Conversely, poor communication was characterised by participants as involving reduced verbal interactions and sometimes physical aggression, with lack of familiarity with the communication partner a common feature.

These distinctions often involved participants detailing the perceived differences in linguistic, paralinguistic and pragmatic behaviours of friends and non-friend peers in the prison environment. In turn these played a contributory part in decisions to engage with these peers, and in the course of action chosen to avoid or deal with conflict when it arose. These descriptions of differences echo the work of Sanger et al. (1999, 2000, 2003) who discuss how their participants demonstrated awareness of pragmatic rules yet demonstrated some difficulty in applying these to their own interactions with others.

Participants in the current study identified and discussed perceived unacceptable pragmatic and non-verbal behaviours from non-friend peers as specified in Theme A, for example:

- Staring and aggressive facial expression
- Rudeness
- “Body language”
- Unacceptable topics for humour e.g. jokes about rape, teasing with unacceptable vocabulary, e.g. “poofs”, jokes about others’ girlfriends
- “being cheeky”, arrogant behaviours, assuming authority over other peers

- “immature” behaviours e.g. in showers, shouting through windows, teasing others

Participants always ascribed these behaviours to peers with whom they were less familiar and often discussed them in terms of justifying their negative attitudes about non-friend peers. However, elsewhere during the interviews, it is clear that participants have difficulty avoiding the behaviours they describe. Several participants described violent or aggressive verbal means of resolving difficulties as unacceptable but sometimes described their means of avoidance in uncompromising terms, for example, Lucas (*...tell them to get a fuckin’ grip of theirself. And if they dinnae, you just have to do something about it.* (223)) or John (*I’ll say to other people first, what’s this cunt talkin’ about (...) I’m just like that (punches hand) obviously I’ll attack them...* (258)).

Others described their awareness of the unacceptability of violent and aggressive behaviours but commented on the social consequences within the prison environment of choosing non-violent means to deal with a conflict situation e.g. Alan (*...you’ll just get called a chicken, man* (217)) or John (*Obviously (violence is) not the right thing to do, but at the same time, you don’t want them to think you’re taking a back seat fae anybody...* (258)).

There is an argument, then, that participants in the current study demonstrate a lack of self-awareness of their own communication behaviours similar to that described by Sanger et al. in previous studies: while they were able to, for the most part, describe pragmatic rules and “good communication”, a majority appeared to find this difficult to put into practice consistently.

However, if we look again at comments such as those from John and Alan above, the picture is more complex. Some participants describe making a conscious choice to go against and contradict the values they hold about “good communication” and “pragmatic rules” if circumstances appear to require this. A significant proportion of participants describe their friendships and family relationships in positive terms compared to those interactions with non-friend peers, and they make a clear

distinction between the ways in which they behave towards these differing social groups.

Indeed, throughout Theme B, participants described broad communication strategies they employ in order to deal with the social environment of the prison: *avoidance, confrontation or negotiation*. These strategies are not necessarily employed unilaterally across all interactions, with participants choosing to employ them according to the situation, showing flexibility in their communication styles. These behaviours at times, particularly *avoidance* and *confrontation*, contradict or supersede the accepted pragmatic rules from wider society or “good communication” features specified by the participants themselves. It is possible that rather than being unable to enact this knowledge about acceptable behaviour, some participants know – and can describe why – these will not necessarily be of benefit to them in the prison environment. In essence, for these young men, *pragmatic rules give way to necessary pragmatism*.

In terms of social connections within the prison environment, findings align strongly with conclusions drawn in the wider criminological literature around occurrence of prison violence, methods employed by prisoners dealing with conflict or its likelihood, and the rational and conscious decisions made to engage in any of these strategies. In particular, the work of Edgar, O'Donnell and Martin (2003) in their influential qualitative study of prison violence and victimization among incarcerated groups in the UK, has direct correlates with the findings from this study.

Edgar et al. (2003) found great variation in the nature of victimization and likelihood of violent incidents depending on type of prison environment. They report that while women prisoners very rarely used violence as a means of settling differences, young offenders were most likely, compared to adult men in a local prison, those in high-security prisons, or women, to have experienced a recent fight or violent episode. When threatened, young offenders, the authors report, are most likely to fight back or attack; violence was considered a first option when placed in a conflict

situation. As the authors put it, the young offender group “served their time in a hair trigger society” (p. 202).

This is an observation shared by the researcher from the interview data and thematic patterns from the current study where all participants discussed the seemingly inevitable and sudden nature of violent incidents. These are described as arising often over the most seemingly trivial of circumstances; given the reported reduced social circle of many of the young men in the study, how they go about balancing up the options around use of violence to resolve arguments is strongly influenced by their familiarity with peers. In the wider social sciences literature into causes and maintenance of friendships, the homophily principle – that “similarity breeds connection” (McPherson et al, 2001, p. 415) has been established (Brechwald and Prinstein, 2011; Hirschi, 1969; Glueck and Glueck, 1950). In a review of the literature, McPherson et al. (2001) specify similar age, behaviour and shared attitudes and behaviours as highly likely indicators of maintaining and developing friendships in adolescence and young adulthood.

The concept of prisoners’ rationality, i.e. the notion that they have the capacity to make conscious choices based on reasoning processes is still the dominant philosophy of UK justice systems (Jones, 2008). In the field of criminology, Rational Choice Theory proposes that criminal offences are committed because the offender makes a cost-benefit analysis of the situation before acting, choosing the option of criminality over non-criminal options in order to meet particular needs (Monachesi, 1955; Becker, 1968; Cornish and Clarke, 1986; Kubrin et al, 2009). Indeed, the well-known “Prisoner’s Dilemma”, an attempt to illustrate the concepts involved in Game Theory (Flood, 1958), describes the circumstances under which two offenders *held to be rational individuals* may choose not to co-operate if they perceive risk as too high for themselves.

Cornish and Clarke (1986) modified this initial position that the individual makes a purely conscious utilitarian economic decision based on weighed up costs and benefits; instead, these authors posit, the individual makes their decisions under a

“bounded rationality”, making a weighted decision in a more “rudimentary and cursory way”, with the decisions they make also limited by the environmental circumstances in which they occur. Similarly, much of the recent research literature around prison violence holds as an initial concept that prisoners do not act irrationally when deciding how to deal with conflict – they are viewed as conscious agents who make decisions in support of their own self-interest based on a cost-benefit analysis of the situation, influenced by personal and environmental factors (Bottoms, 1999; Edgar et al, 2003; Steele, 2015).

Edgar et al. (2003) carried out interviews with 61 prisoners with experience of victimization in order to examine possible risk factors that might increase the likelihood of conflict between peers, circumstances leading up to fights and assaults, strategies adopted by prisoners when conflict arose, and factors within the prison setting that could shape conflict between prisoners. Their findings align closely with the results of the current project on a number of fronts.

The authors examined 41 instances where conflict situations were resolved between peers in the prison setting without violence. They identified factors that increased the likelihood of non-violent outcomes and categorised them under three headings: *Social Context*, *Norms and Attitudes*, and *Peacemaking*. Edgar et al. identified social interpersonal factors that played a key role in limiting the likelihood of violent conflict arising between peers. Participants who regarded themselves as friends with a mutual understanding and respect were more likely to choose to negotiate to resolve conflicts than non-friend peers, as is the case in the current study, with some participants stating that it was not worth ruining a friendship over a conflict. A few participants described situations where they would still fight with friends if the situation was serious enough to warrant this. While familiarity and closer social distance decreased the likelihood of violent conflict, these factors were not a lone preventative factor as discussed by participants in the current study.

Norms and Attitudes: Strongly related to the above, Edgar et al. report that values held by prisoners themselves were a strong influencing factor on the likelihood of violent conflict and communication breakdown between peers. They report instances of prisoners putting the situation into perspective and having a realisation that it did not warrant use of violence: this echoes the views of several participants in the current study about the triviality of the roots of the conflicts they were involved in: *Stupidest of things, pure silliest of things* (Stephen, 268); *People argue over the daftest things in here. Stupid things, man. You'd be surprised* (Alan, 179); *Folk'll start fighting over a doughnut...* (Michael, 198).

Peacemaking: Edgar and colleagues describe a number of strategies used by prisoners in order to prevent communication breakdown and often, violence. Referring to Black's (1998) model of response types in conflict resolution, Edgar describes prisoners' methods in attempting to prevent violence according to one of these types: including *self-help* (meaning verbal aggression without physical violence), *avoidance*, *negotiation*, *settlement* and *toleration*. As can be seen from the current study, participants also adopted a number of these communication strategies, particularly avoidance and negotiation, when attempting to avoid violent outcomes.

Use of the avoidance strategy "keeping your head down", and attempting to withdraw from situations where conflict could occur – is discussed in the existing literature as a mostly unsuccessful approach to conflict management: McCorkle (1992) describes withdrawal as an unsatisfactory strategy to ensure an individual's safety, particularly if a conflict situation had arisen and had not been dealt with by both parties, with one side practicing avoidance. Given the frequent reported unpredictability of conflict situations arising between peers in the prison setting in the current study, this attempt to exert control over a situation by practicing avoidance can be seen as often unsuccessful. This can be seen in the reported situations in which participants described themselves: while a number of them

described being avoidant of conflict and “keeping their heads down” as detailed in Subtheme B3, Controlling Outcomes, Section 7.3.3.

Of the remaining strategies laid out by Black (1998), *negotiation* is a key approach shared with the current study; as discussed above, Edgar describes this approach as most frequent among participants with perceived closer social proximity. In the current study, being from the same region or scheme, and also similar perceived similarities in linguistic features such as accent, vocabulary and observed adherence to group social rules, increased a likelihood of conflicts being resolved by verbally negotiated means.

8.4.3. Research Question 3: Conclusions

Findings pertaining to Research Question 3 have demonstrated that interactions with peers are strongly influenced by perceived social distance and familiarity between communication partners. Participants tend to use their perceived level of familiarity with peers, whether good friends or unknown individuals, as an indicator of the likelihood of successful communication outcomes which in turn influences their willingness to engage with peers in the prison environment.

Observable linguistic behaviours such as accent and vocabulary use may act as markers of social distance between individuals, particularly between wider geographical areas. Unfamiliar peers are more likely to be considered to be immature and to exhibit negative pragmatic and non-verbal behaviours, which leads to a greater likelihood of physical conflict than between known peers or friends.

The few studies that have qualitatively examined young offenders’ views on their language and communication have not examined relationships with peers in detail, however the current study’s findings around willingness to engage with peers specify similar qualities of interaction required: *reciprocal trust*, *reciprocal respect*, *shared understanding* and *adherence to social rules*. The young men demonstrated

in interview that they often make attempts to adopt specific communication styles according to their perception of the situation and adapt these accordingly – with peers, these fall into three main categories – *avoidance*, *confrontation* and *negotiation*.

8.5. Research Question 4: Views on interactions with authority figures

Research Question 4:

What are the young people's perspectives on their interactions with authority figures, historically and currently?

8.5.1. Summary of findings

During interviews, participants discussed their perspectives on interactions with a variety of authority figures both in the past, i.e. Children's Panel members and school staff, and also in current settings, i.e. with police officers; court judges/sheriffs and lawyers; and prison staff, primarily prison officers and healthcare staff.

The wide variety and scope of participants' interactions with authority figures is reflected in the array of attitudes and opinions they express throughout all three of the major themes discussed in this study. Patterns were observed in how participants characterised relationships and interactions with authority figures in the present and through past experiences. Findings are summarised below according to setting.

Justice settings

Police interview: Participants characterised their perceptions of police interactions in consistently negative terms, stating that their views were not heard or did not matter in these interactions. As such, the predominant features of these interactions as described by participants are outlined below:

- feelings of lack of trust in the police, where officers are characterised as attempting to “trick” participants into confessing or signing statements
- perception of inevitability of police interview leading to a charge
- uncommonly positive reported feelings of self-confidence and a full understanding of their situation
- use of avoidance strategies such as a “no comment” response during police interview/attempts by participants to gain a perceived “upper hand” and refusal to engage

Courtroom: Participants consistently characterised themselves as in need of support in order to understand courtroom proceedings. In describing their interactions within the courtroom setting, participants described:

- a reduced understanding of the language used during courtroom proceedings
- a reduced understanding of the language used by judges/sheriffs themselves during proceedings
- the crucial support received from their lawyer in order to interpret proceedings and decisions made
- an ensuing lack of engagement with proceedings and a sense of inevitability of decisions

Prison setting

With prison officers: Some consistencies were observed in general perceptions on interactions with prison staff at Polmont; however, participants offered a wide variety of views on their interactions with prison officers. Key characterisations described by participants about interactions with prison staff were:

- importance of feeling heard by staff and being given a reason for decisions
- need for reciprocal respect between staff and prisoners
- importance of positive relationship with own personal officer (PO)
- importance of opportunities to talk through personal issues with at least one member of prison staff.

With healthcare staff: Participants discussed their expectations of support from healthcare staff having, in some cases, identified their own health needs. Key characteristics of interactions with healthcare staff were:

- expectation that healthcare staff would support participants
- importance of feeling like healthcare needs are being met
- need to have healthcare procedures justified and explained clearly in a way that participants could understand

Past experiences

Panel Members: Participant memories and views of their interactions with Panel Members in the Children's Hearings System were mostly characterised as negative, with participants discussing:

- a perceived lack of authority or qualification to make decisions on the part of Panel Members
- a perceived lack of respect from Panel Members and commonly adversarial nature of Hearings

- a sense of inevitability about decisions made by Panel Members

Primary and secondary school staff: A wide variety of views of interactions education staff and institutions at primary and secondary levels were offered by participants. Most consistent findings observed from discussion with participants in this area were:

- a predominantly negative experience of schooling and interactions with school staff
- lack of reciprocal respect between participant and education staff as a chief influencing factor in communication breakdown
- experience of support from at least one teacher in half of participant group
- expressions of regret at not recognising staff support opportunities during school

8.5.2. Research Question 4: Discussion

In this section Research Question 4 is discussed with reference to the results as detailed in the quantitative findings (Chapter 6) and the qualitative findings (Chapter 7). In order to present the discussion in a coherent manner they will be dealt with in the following order:

- Police officers and the police setting
- Courts and the court setting
- Prison setting: officers
- Prison setting: healthcare staff
- Children's Hearings System: Panel members
- Education staff

Each section will be examined individually. Following this the Conclusions section provides an integration of the main issues and points arising from this.

Police officers and the police setting

When describing police interviews, participants often cited a lack of trust in police, the perceived inevitability of punitive outcomes from police interactions and attempts to assert control over the situation as much as possible by use of the “no comment” strategy. Participants’ view of the inevitability of these punitive outcomes seemed to offer a perspective where they described themselves as powerless in the face of police authority. However, this was contradicted by the majority view that they had a full understanding of their situation and reported with some confidence that they could deal well with police interviews.

Participants’ attitudes when discussing their interactions with police – at arrest and interview – are broadly in alignment with other work in this area describing young offenders’ attitudes and how these go about shaping their interactions with police where a perceived lack of control, confusion at what is happening, complaints about officers’ abuse of power and lack of access to legal support are reported most frequently (Drury and Dennison, 2000; McAra and McVie, 2005, 2007; Sindall et al, 2017). Perceived victimisation by police is also considered a key factor in determining developing negative attitudes to the police in general (Brick et al, 2009).

Current participants’ reported lack of trust in police and expectations that they would be “tricked” into signing a statement or caught out verbally during interview into an admission of guilt is broadly in keeping with findings from other similar studies examining views on language and communication of young offenders in this setting. Sanger et al. (2000b) found that participants reported that they were aggressive or disrespectful to authority figures where they had experienced a perceived lack of reciprocation of trust or respect from those figures themselves; Hopkins et al. (2016) reports similar perceptions from participants where reduced reciprocal trust and respect from officers may lead to feelings of being belittled and reduced self-confidence.

Also aligning with findings in Hopkins et al. (2016), where participants in that study described difficulty in countering perceived verbal aggression from officers irrespective of their own communication abilities, a majority of participants in the current study describe a “No comment” communication strategy as a blanket response during police interviews. They rationalised the decision to do so by discussing how little trust they placed in police and how officers would attempt to “put words in their mouth” and “trick” them. Participants who described making the decision to adopt this strategy in blanket terms with police did so to the researcher in an assertive and confident manner, describing it as a form of best strategy to avoid perceived police deception or trickery. Some criminological researchers are in broad agreement with this reasoning from the offenders themselves. Stokoe and Edwards (2014) in a study examining uses of the “no comment” strategy with young male offenders in police interview conclude that using “no comment” allows the suspect to exercise his legal rights:

Suspects using this device are not merely saying nothing, nor even refusing to say anything, but simply, economically and efficiently asserting their right to say nothing... (p. 15)

They go on to point out that:

..far from being an uncooperative stance, a consistent “no comment” response is treated by all participants as a recognized, legitimate and effective way of conducting a police interview, in a way that orients to legal requirements. (p. 16)

This raises the question: are participants in the current study describing a conscious, assertive communication strategy that allows the interview to continue with minimum involvement from them, or is it likely other factors are also influencing this decision? In the light of the quantitative standardised language assessment results from the study cohort where no participant reached a score above the mean for age equivalent 16;11, further explanation might be offered by application of the Social Adaptation Model (Redmond and Rice, 1998).

Redmond and Rice (1998) offer a persuasive developmental model to account for associations between behaviour and language disorder, derived from observation and assessment of children with language disorder. For children with receptive and expressive language difficulties these lead to problematic social interactions for which the child attempts to compensate by adopting particular behaviours, which in turn may be negatively regarded by others. Originally a model to account for the observed behavioural differences in children with language disorder compared to their non-language impaired peers, it is persuasive in describing the process by which already established externalising (physical or verbal aggression) and internalising (withdrawal, depression, self-harm) behaviours often observed in young people with identified language deficits may arise (Benner et al, 2002; Cohen et al, 1998).

Individuals such as young offenders with language disorder who may have extensive experience of situations where linguistic demands outstrip their capacity to cope may then begin to rationalise these coping behaviours as strategies that work to their benefit, maintaining self-esteem (or “intact psycho-social” selves, as Redmond and Rice state (p. 689)), reducing demands on them in the stressful environment of the interview room, and allowing them to “gain the upper hand” over police.

Further direct questioning and research about young people’s motivations to use the “no comment”/avoidance strategy in police interview settings would be illuminating.

Court setting

In interview, participants described their reduced understanding of the language used during courtroom proceedings, difficulties with understanding the language used by judges/sheriffs, importance of support primarily from their lawyers to interpret and give information about decisions, and, similarly to police interview settings, the inevitability of decisions made.

Regarding participant views on their ability to understand and participate in a courtroom setting, the findings in this study resonate strongly with the findings of other qualitative studies with young offender groups (Hazel et al, 2003; Crew and Ellis, 2008; Talbot, 2010; Lount et al, 2017) that demonstrate young people's difficulties with understanding the language and proceedings of the courtroom without support. In particular, there is significant similarity in findings between the current study and recent work by Lount et al. (2017), who examined the perspectives of eight young male offenders on their experiences at court in the New Zealand justice system.

Lount et al. describe a number of themes and subthemes relating to the courtroom experience for young male offenders that resonate highly with those formulated for the current study: a primary theme of experiencing a lack of control in this setting appears to be associated with a reduced understanding of courtroom processes (on a both macro-level and in terms of the language used), reduced confidence to participate, a need for familiarity and trust with communication partners, and active use of communication strategies with trusted communication partners in an attempt to understand what is happening in court.

These views share much common ground with those expressed in the current study by participants, as detailed in Theme C, *Seeking Support*, who readily discussed their limitations when it came to comprehending what was going on in the courtroom. No participants in the current study described themselves as understanding courtroom proceedings to their own satisfaction; they described their difficulties as centred particularly around the language involved and need for reliance on a trusted communication partner. In all cases for the current study, this role fell to their lawyer, who interpreted the content and conclusion of proceedings. Some participants in the current study described their lack of "macro-level understanding" in the court-room: they state that they had difficulty comprehending processes and outcomes; where a verdict is announced, they reported still requiring confirmation from their lawyer with a nod or explanation, or

only partially understanding what is being said. For example, Michael describes looking out for key words “custodial sentence” in order to understand, while John discusses awaiting “the nod” by his lawyer that he had avoided custody.

In terms of participation in courtroom proceedings, participants in the current study report that they do not get involved due to a lack of understanding, some from a feeling of intimidation from the language used in the courtroom, and a preference to rely on their lawyer to make their case and interpret court decisions. These findings are also echoed in those from the Lount et al. study, where a majority report either a lack of confidence or no opportunity for their understanding to be checked.

A key element of Lount et al’s findings is the observation that participants expressed a sense of powerlessness, and the passing of agency in the process to other communication partners, the reason for which is explicitly given as lack of understanding of proceedings. In the current study, participants were keen to point out their trust of, and high regard for, their lawyers in supporting them in such situations, essentially describing the intermediary role lawyers took in the courtroom, advising and interpreting decisions for them; some participants described the verdicts as inevitable, echoing the feelings of powerlessness cited in the Lount et al. study, yet participants as a group discussed the support they received in confident and positive terms, with a majority describing what was a markedly assertive approach to using these supports from their legal representatives.

While feelings of powerlessness are clearly present in the views of participants in the current study, a sense is given more of the lawyer acting as a trusted and reliable support partner who interprets proceedings in a language they understand, allowing them the opportunity to ask questions and clarify issues, if not participate fully during the hearing.

Prison officers

In interview, participants described the importance of reciprocal respect between staff and prisoners; feeling heard by staff and being given a reason for decisions; importance of their positive relationship with own personal officer (PO) and how important it was to have opportunities to talk through personal issues with staff if needed.

The findings for this portion of the study are consistent with the findings of the work of other researchers in the prison estate across the UK regarding relationships with prison officers and the needs of prisoners. In particular, the recurring theme of importance of reciprocal respect as a starting point for successful interaction within the prison setting (and indeed in other settings for this participant group and more broadly, population) has been examined by other researchers (Liebling, 2002; Liebling and Arnold, 2005; Miller, 2001; Hulley et al, 2012) with a distinction made by Hulley et al. (2012) between “respect as esteem” (essentially “reverence and deference”, p. 7) and “respect as consideration” (essentially “recognition of another’s rights as a human being and avoidance of degrading treatment”, p. 7). Respect-as-esteem is, the authors argue, fundamentally at odds with the prison system ethos, given the clear power imbalance present between officers and prisoners. “Respect-as-consideration”, a “basic level of respect”, they conclude, is a more achievable aim, and should be the objective of staff-prisoner relationships. Respect, in any form, is important to participants as it appears to be a significant pre-requisite for preparing any successful interaction opportunities with authority figures. Participants consistently cite respect and being listened to as highly important factors that influence their decisions to interact pro-socially with officers. Respect has been incorporated as a governing principle of the Scottish Prison Service. Its Operating Task Statement (SPS, 2018, p. 5) includes: “Respect – We have proper regard for individuals, their needs and their human rights.”

A majority of participants (n=8) reported that they had a good relationship with their Personal Officer and that they had an opportunity to speak to at least one

officer if they had a personal issue they wished to discuss; only one participant (Mark) stated that he would not discuss personal issues with officers and would wait to talk on the phone with family and friends. This is a nominally higher figure than in other studies, for example, HM Inspectorate of Prisons (2006) reported that in a survey of inspected establishments from 2003-2006, 57% of young male offenders reported that they had a member of staff they could turn to for help.

Some participants also described difficulties with understanding some of the decisions made about them or considered to be in their best interests, particularly in terms of reduced opportunities for social interaction with peers, with some decisions perceived as arbitrary, or inconsistent. These participants indicated that these decisions required better explanation.

Prison healthcare staff

In interview, participants expressed expectations that healthcare staff would support participants, described the importance of feeling like healthcare needs are being met and the need to have healthcare procedures justified and explained clearly in a way that they could understand.

Young offenders as a population are a vulnerable group and exhibit a high level of health need (Anderson et al, 2004; Bardone et al, 1998; Goldson, 2000; Stallard et al, 2003) and are less likely than the general population to be registered with a GP (Dolan et al, 1999). The Scottish Prison Service Health Care Needs Assessment (Couper, 2012) emphasised the poorer health outcomes for the young offender population in comparison to the general population.

Participants described interactions with healthcare staff in mostly positive terms; views mostly centred around seeking and gaining support for healthcare needs, the focus of which was mainly support for mental health and addictions/dependencies. A majority reported that they understood what was happening in terms of their

care and that they felt their needs were addressed by staff in a way they understood.

Some participants discussed lack of communication from healthcare staff, and a need for self-preservation of their own mental health rather than making a complaint about perceived inefficiency (John); others described a lack of explanation from staff for treatment and assessment, and a subsequent reduced understanding of the reasons for particular appointments or treatments (David and Mark).

Lack of understanding and subsequent feelings of powerlessness can be common in prisoners as patients (Wilmott, 1997; Sim, 2002), but the available research literature into prison healthcare and uptake and satisfaction with services reflects that prisoners wish to use services while in prison that may be harder to access when in the community; however these feelings of powerlessness and lack of autonomy, as experienced by some participants in the current study, may affect uptake (Condon et al, 2006) having adverse long-term effects on health status.

Children's Hearings System and Panel Members

A majority of participants had experience of Children's Hearings (n=8). Participants characterised their interactions with Panel Members within the Children's Hearings System in terms of perceived lack of authority or qualification to make decisions about their lives, lack of reciprocal respect, and again, a sense of inevitability from decisions made by Members. Some participants discussed aggressive verbal confrontations with Members. A few participants felt that they had been listened to in Hearings and understood the decisions made.

These findings are broadly in keeping with research from within and external to the Children's Hearings System itself, where the issue of effective communication and subsequent engagement within Hearings between children and young people and Panel Members is continually debated. Child and young person participants have

typically demonstrated mixed views about their experience and impression of Hearings often based on their direct interactions with Panel Members.

Griffiths and Kandel (2000) highlight the difficulties reported by children and young people in their dealings with Panel Members during Hearings, specifying in particular the following as the main areas of difficulty for them:

- i) disagreement with a pre-established narrative without becoming confrontational;
- ii) anxiety/fear about consequences of the Hearing as an inhibiting factor;
- iii) conflicting loyalties within the Hearing room;
- iv) sociolinguistic aspects of panel member communication, e.g. accent, use of “posh” vocabulary and social distance

In particular, points i) and iv) may be seen as particularly pertinent to the experience of participants in the current study, where social distance, querying authority of Members to make decisions, alienating and confusing use of language, and feeling judged/disagreeing with the pre-established picture of themselves as individuals all have relevance.

McKenna (2013) describes “widespread misunderstanding among children and young people about the hearings process and their own hearing” (p. 8) with children sometimes reporting that “they sometimes left a hearing not knowing what had been decided” (p. 8). Use of jargon and “big words” by Panel Members is another issue raised by McKenna (2013), echoed also in the research of Scottish Government (Creegan et al, 2006). Feeling judged and feeling that Members had made their decision before entering the Hearing room were also common observations made by the children and young people in the study. Overt non-verbal behaviours interpreted by children and young people to indicate a lack of listening or interest by Panel Members was another finding of this study, which was in turn interpreted as a lack of respect by participants.

Clark and Fitzsimons (2018) (See Appendix S) discuss the views of Panel Members and Children's Reporters on facilitating communication within the Hearing Room; in the study, both groups (n=15 – Children's Reporters; n=21 – Panel Members) show a broad understanding of the communication issues facing children and young people when they enter the hearing room and give the view that as a group, more training into their language and communication needs is warranted.

Experiences of education and interactions with staff

Participants described a predominantly negative experience of schooling and interactions with school staff, in particular a lack of reciprocal respect between participant and education staff as a chief influencing factor in communication breakdown. Positive experiences of support from at least one teacher in half of participant group were also expressed, with physical education and home economics described as favourite subjects by participants; significantly, some participants described feelings of regret at not recognising staff support opportunities when at school.

Participant data in the current study where available shows that half (n=5) of participants left school before the age of 14; 5 participants also reported during interview that they had experienced school exclusions on more than one occasion, with one reporting expulsion due to disruptive behaviour and attendance at a behavioural school from P5 until high school.

It has long been established that negative educational experiences, reduced academic achievement and behavioural difficulties are strongly associated as key components in the increased likelihood of offending for young people (Farrington, 1997; Stewart, 2008); for example Farrington (1997) found that 85% of young offenders (n=522, age range – 10-15y) described experiencing “problems at school”. In Scotland, researchers for the longitudinal Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime, which followed 4,300 adolescents in the City of Edinburgh

who had started secondary school in 1998, concluded that students excluded from school at age 12 are four times as likely as non-excluded children to go to prison by age 24 (ESYTC 2013). These same researchers then went on to identify exclusion from school as one of three key factors contributing to a higher likelihood of a “chronic conviction pathway” for young people, alongside truancy and adversarial relationships with police (ESYTC, 2013, p. 7). In the US, Losen and Gillespie (2012) found that school exclusion led to a higher risk of school dropout and involvement in the criminal justice system; Krezmien (2014) refers to the commonly held assertion among US educational and civil liberties groups that forced removal from schooling leads to a greater risk of offending and imprisonment. The terminology used reflects these strong associations: “school-to-prison pipeline”, “cradle-to-prison-pipeline” or “schoolhouse-to-jailhouse track” (p. 268).

Taking into account the extent of language disorder (44%) in the participant group, we see further alignment with the evidence base in terms of risk of school exclusion. Ripley and Yuill (2005) examined language disorder incidence in a group of young people with identified behavioural difficulties, but with no prior reported language disorder (n=16, ages 8-16). The participant group was sampled from children and young people who have been excluded from mainstream schooling as a result of behavioural problems.

Results indicated that excluded boys had poorer verbal skills which could not be explained by reduced general abilities, since the results of non-verbal skills measures were similar between the two groups, however the hypothesised expressive/receptive split in age in excluded young people and children was not supported; rather, excluded young people and children performed more poorly on expressive skills measures across the board. Younger excluded children performed more poorly on the auditory memory task than their age-matched peers, which the authors hypothesise might be related to use of language for self-regulatory purposes (Vygotsky, 1962). Interestingly, a group of six excluded participants performed at or above average on all language measures compared to control boys:

evidence, say the authors, that not all observed behavioural problems have language deficits at their core. Also in support of the notion that language skills may be a protective factor in emotional development, the six excluded boys with above average language skills showed no symptoms of emotional problems, while those excluded children with expressive deficits were shown to score highly; support, say the authors, for the possibility that it is not expressive language deficits in themselves that are associated with behavioural difficulties but their links to emotional problems, eg in identifying and expressing one's own and others' feelings, which in turn promotes the ability to navigate social interactions effectively.

Application of a demands/capacity model here to describe participants' preferences in terms of subject area is possible. Participant preferences for subject – and likelihood of positive interactions with staff – also may have been influenced by limitations in linguistic ability. Subjects involving low-level linguistic communicative situations, eg PE, or allowing the development of practical skills, eg home economics, may offer protective means for those young people with language disorders by reducing linguistic demands but allowing the maintenance of social bonds. There is some evidence of the social benefits and effects on attendance of in-school sport participation (Eime et al, 2013; Bailey et al. 2009; Bailey, 2006).

Poor quality social interactions with authority figures at school are cited repeatedly by participants in the current study, who describe a lack of reciprocal respect from education staff and situations where they perceived unfair treatment from staff (eg Mark's experience of being immediately sent out of the teaching room despite his view of having done nothing wrong; Lucas's discussion of his exclusion from school due to pushing the rector of his school having, according to him, been spat on).

Looking again to the Social Adaptation Model (Redmond and Rice, 1998) as a possible guiding explanation for these behaviours, difficulties with receptive and/or expressive language, particularly in stressful situations, may lead to the individual demonstrating externalising behaviours to authority figures that allow them to then

keep an intact psycho-social self/self-image; once again an emphasis is placed in interview with the researcher on the values of respect and being listened to when discussing experiences of schooling and interactions with staff. Clearly, all children and young people should be treated with respect, however, while participants discuss the reasons for their school exclusions – most frequently, their behaviour towards peers and staff – these are frequently framed in terms of the unfairness of the decision made by education staff. It is possible that these explanations and justifications are post-hoc rationalisations from individuals with a language disorder seeing their externalising behaviours as rational and justified, and possible lack of awareness of the priorities and experiences of those working with them.

8.5.3. Research Question 4: Conclusions

Participants' perspectives on their interactions with authority figures varied, with some patterns noted as a function of particular settings. Participants demonstrated that they modified their communicative behaviours according to their attitudes and values associated with the level of support they expected from authority figures, the level of respect they perceived being shown.

8.6. Integration of findings: Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

Viewing the findings from the research questions through Bronfenbrenner's (1994) Ecological Systems Theory allows a consideration of the complex and layered nature of the interactions participants experience in their everyday lives in the variety of settings they encounter. It allows a view of young people as social beings, as rational and conscious actors who base their decisions on their perceived needs, building and maintaining their social relationships according to their own value systems and attitudes in the variety of settings they encounter. Findings will be examined through the lens of Ecological Systems Theory in terms of those systems in which these interactions occur, the young people's reported experiences, with the aim of enhancing our understanding of these experiences.

Bronfenbrenner describes human development as a product of interaction between the environment and the individual, firstly in terms of the systems surrounding them, and in later iterations of his theory, emphasizing the processes underlining development as part of the PPCT (Process-Person-Context-Time) model (Bronfenbrenner and Ceci, 1994). This allows an understanding of human development taking place "through processes of progressively more complex reciprocal interaction" (Bronfenbrenner, 2005) where the child, and then young adult, understand the world and their role within it over time; also, an understanding of the impact and power of processes requires us to examine the relationships, time/location context and power relationships inherent in these processes.

"Process" acts as the core of the PPCT model. It captures the interactions between the individual and their environment that are the primary engines of human development, over time as *proximal processes*. The remaining elements of the model allow or restrict access to and opportunities for engagement with these proximal processes. The power of processes to influence development is regulated by: the characteristics of the Person; the distal and more proximal Contexts, i.e. the micro-, meso-, exo-, macro- and chronosystems; and the Time period in which

proximal processes occur. Findings from both the qualitative and quantitative strands of the current study are examined below with reference to the PPCT Model by examination of each component in turn in terms of findings as detailed in Chapters 6 and 7.

8.6.1. PPCT: Process

Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1995) define proximal processes thus:

Examples of enduring patterns of proximal process are found in feeding or comforting a baby, playing with a young child, child-child activities, group or solitary play, reading, learning new skills, athletic activities, problem solving, caring for others in distress, making plans, performing complex tasks, and acquiring new knowledge and know-how. (p. 797)

Applying this concept to activities and processes reported by participants within the prison environment, we may see any activity that is regular or enduring as a possible example of a proximal process, for example: regularly attending and engaging with prison education or visiting projects such as Paws for Progress; learning new skills in work parties such as plumbing or painting; reading books or newspapers; writing letters to family or friends; involvement in experimental research studies; playing an instrument; writing and performing rap songs for others; talking to peers and officers about transferring to other halls or a different prison; receiving visits from family; visiting the gym with friends, or other recreational activities such as football or pool, as proximal processes within the prison environment.

Quantitative findings for Research Question 1 are that an indication of language disorder occurred in a significant proportion of the participant group, with 44% of

the group performing below normal limits and no participant performing above the mean for age equivalent 16;11 (M=20;3). The presence of language disorder fundamentally reduces opportunities for young people with an already established pattern of involvement with the justice system to engage with the proximal processes inherent to the microsystems in which they interact with peers and others. As such, the young person is less likely to be engaged in those crucial formal proximal processes that support their development. In the presence of other risk factors such as parental disengagement, absence of a consistent carer, or lack of key supportive authority figures, there is greater likelihood of involvement in what Johns, Williams and Haines (2017) refer to as “constellations of negativity” in the micro-and meso-systems in which they interact, i.e. involvement in more negative peer interactions or reduction in prosocial interactions with others (avoidance behaviours, confrontation behaviours). Reduced success in formal proximal processes such as education, the authors argue, may lead to rejection of these processes by some young people in favour of – particularly in adolescence – these negative peer influences, which can act to reiterate and consolidate less prosocial group identities (Johns, Williams and Haines, 2017).

Findings from Research Questions 2, 3 and 4 bear out the predictions of Bronfenbrenner’s model. Participants will commonly base their decisions upon their perceptions of the social situation and often make quick cost-benefit analyses to inform their decisions, particularly problem solving conflict situations within the prison, despite these often having a negative outcome for them; they are mostly socially active with peers, taking part in sports and other activities; they are individuals who express a wish to change their behaviours and make plans to do so; they for the most part attempt to engage with proximal processes such as reading, acquiring knowledge by involvement in education and work parties, involvement in dependency programmes; making requests for help and support in a variety of settings.

Clear examples of proximal processes emerge from the interview data and subsequent themes. The school environment is a primary microsystem for proximal processes to support development. The presence of an unsupported language disorder in children and young people is also well evidenced to increase the likelihood of disengagement from school (Sanger et al, 2000; Snow and Powell, 2011; Gifford-Smith et al, 2005), of school exclusion (Ripley and Yuill, 2005), and of reduced quality and quantity of peer interaction (Brinton and Fujiki, 1993; Durkin and Conti-Ramsden, 2007). The consequences of rejection of formal proximal processes of development are borne out by the reported experiences of the young people in the study, most of whom described their schooling experiences in Theme A as short, in mostly negative terms, with relationships with staff, lack of interest in the majority of subjects and removal from mainstream education cited as primary reasons.

Care experiences – due to their often inconsistent and unpredictable nature – may also not provide the regularity of experience required for a proximal developmental process to allow the young person to reach their potential. Presence of unsupported language disorder increases the likelihood of reduced engagement with proximal processes of development in the microsystems from school environment and beyond, whether this is in the courtroom, Children’s Hearings, seeking work, or engaging with further education.

In the prison environment, the strongly observed and maintained social rules as discussed in Theme B, established between peers in the community, are brought into the social environment of the prison and again may act to reduce access to the proximal processes required to promote an individual’s development; the prison clearly offers a range of work parties and educational opportunities as means of furthering knowledge and offering transferable and direct skills for the young people, who often talked about these in positive terms, such as relationship-building activities such as involvement with Paws for Progress. Participants regularly discussed boredom or a lack of activity indicating their needs for proximal processes

for their development; some indicated their lack of social activity, others that their involvement with work parties and education had been restricted due to placement in a particular hall or for their own protection, or due to history of negative peer interactions. In these cases, participants were making clear that they recognised the value of the proximal processes to which they were not gaining access.

More generally, then, these may be seen as examples of youth justice institutions attempting to build positive relationships on a microsystemic and mesosystemic level (between peers, between staff and young people; between outside educational and project work and the young people) in order to counteract negative microsystemic ones (e.g. negative peer group interactions). However, present throughout their reported experience of prison was the tension between these positive proximal processes and the entrenched attitudes of the peer group, as reflected in Theme B, *Exerting Control*. These attitudes emphasise the primacy of one's own group and loyalty to it by reinforcing group identity. Markers of difference, such as the described linguistic and paralinguistic behaviours, and perceived maturity level of others, act to separate the individual's peer group from "others". The young men frequently demonstrated awareness of the value of their interactions with peers, and thus the proximal processes available to them, whether these be in recreational activities (at the gym, playing sports, banter between friends) or more formalised work parties and educational programmes. They expressed a need to interact rather than being "bored in my cell" and protesting at being removed from or not placed on work party rosters for e.g. reported bullying, or still awaiting placement. They complained about the lack of satisfying interaction in particular situations, for example when in the SRU and having to shout through doors at one another. Most prominently, a majority expressed dissatisfaction at the perceived immaturity of their peers and the reduced opportunities they perceived for satisfying interactions as a result.

8.6.2. PPCT: Person

Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) conceptualise three influential characteristics of the Person that contribute to the shaping of development: disposition (individual characteristics including differences in motivation, temperament and persistence), resources (experience, knowledge, skills and abilities) and demand (those individual characteristics that invite or discourage reactions from the immediate social environment and may elicit a response immediately).

Disposition: In the case of young male offenders, disposition may be influenced by previous experience of home, justice settings, the peer group, and so on. The young person may, due to previous experiences, have varying levels of motivation according to the setting; for example, James describes his enjoyment of music and writing rap lyrics, while Lucas enjoys his music classes where he is able to play the guitar (his enthusiasm for which was witnessed by the researcher through an adjoining office wall). This then contributes to readiness or otherwise to engage with the proximal processes that occur within that setting. Motivations to be involved in interventions, in educational programmes, or even with other peers may be influenced; in the case of those young men with undiagnosed language disorder where understanding at school, both generally of the curriculum and more specifically of verbally delivered instructions, was poor, have led to frustration and subsequent behavioural difficulties – many participants describe their school experiences as difficult, with frequent exclusions, leaving school before 16, or entering alternative schooling; however, a change in motivations is also observed for a number of participants where they discuss attempts to change their communicative behaviours to reduce their aggressive or destructive behaviours in the prison environment and generalise these to life outside post-liberation, for example Andrew, who discusses his need to make changes to how he interacts with everyone in the prison environment – despite reporting a different manner of interaction in community – in order to attain his goal of Enhanced status and early parole. He makes use of avoidance strategies in his interactions in the prison and

makes decisions to engage with education and work programmes in order to prepare him better for his life post-liberation.

Resource: Resource characteristics – experience, skills, knowledge and abilities, but also experiences and social and material resources such as access to amenities like housing, transport or food, and also educational or employment opportunities – may often be unseen or hidden (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1998; Tudge et al, 2009) and “influence the capacity of the organism to engage effectively in proximal processes” (Bronfenbrenner, 1995, p. 635). As such, low SES and poverty, affecting access to amenities and opportunities, are also conceptualised as resources in the model. An unidentified language disorder is a prominent factor in determining the degree to which individuals may engage or be able to engage with proximal processes.

Resource characteristics intersect, and this is not different for the case of the young male offender group: for example, Lucas, who states that he has had depression and a diagnosis of ADHD, and whose CLS results indicate a high likelihood of language disorder (69) also reported his involvement in the Koestler Prize for songwriting, enjoys playing the guitar and singing, and has had experience of working in kitchens and hospitality on his college course. Lucas’s case illustrates an intersection of what Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) refer to as “biopsychological liabilities and assets”, with conditions that if unsupported, limit his capacity to engage with proximal processes (ADHD, his reports of “blacking out” when angry, his description of frequently having to plead guilty to offences as he cannot remember events leading up to the alleged crime; depression; language disorder) and those that are supported or encouraged (songwriting, art classes, gaining qualifications and experience in an employment area he finds motivating and enjoyable).

Thus physical and mental health conditions such as PTSD, anxiety, depression, behavioural disorders such as ADHD or ODD and learning disabilities all act to affect the capacity for and degree to which the individual may be able to interact

substantially to allow proximal processes to influence development. An unsupported language disorder is thus highly likely to limit an individual's access to the very proximal processes that could strengthen these assets and further his or her development.

Demands: Demand characteristics are defined as the “capacity to invite or discourage reactions from the social environment that can disrupt or foster processes of psychological growth” (Bronfenbrenner and Morris, 1995, p. 812). In examples pertaining to the young male offender group from the interview data and subsequent themes formulated, there are an abundance of examples of negative demand characteristics within justice settings. In interview, the group repeatedly discussed their high expectations around being heard and the ways in which a lack of reciprocated respect from authority figures across the justice and welfare systems affected their opportunities and willingness to engage. This was often expressed in sharp comparison to the esteem they were reportedly shown by their own friends and sometimes family members. They discussed the attitudes and behaviours of their non-friend peer group where lack of familiarity, differing social rules and ensuing reduced understanding of the group led to greater likelihood of physical conflict. This in turn reduced opportunities for development due to sanctions from the prison (sent to SRU, confinement, removal of status, reduced access to work parties and sometimes educational opportunities), entrenchment of attitudes to non-friend peers (consolidation of consistently negative attitudes and behaviours) and even time taken to recover from physical fights.

It is well established that young people with unidentified language disorder are at greater risk of misinterpretation of their lack of understanding or reduced expressive abilities as non-compliance when dealing with authority figures and professionals in the justice system (Cohen et al, 1998; Cross, 2004; Brownlie et al, 2004). This high level of negative demand on the individual, for example, breaching bail conditions due to a lack of understanding, has real and longlasting consequences for the individual.

In the prison environment, extending to the whole young offender population the attitudes found in the participant sample, it is apparent that shared lack of familiarity with others frequently leads to a situation where the level of negative demands within the group setting (discouraging reactions from peers) may be difficult to deal with by prosocial means given the pressure to appear in control and hide vulnerability. Reported avoidance or verbal provocation/physical confrontation are described as the most preferred methods available for individuals in order to resolve conflict situations and restore a sense of personal order.

8.6.3. PPCT: Context

In the reformulated model, the “nested systems” of the earlier iteration remain, but are viewed as “contexts of development” where proximal processes influence the development of the individual. Interactions within the microsystems of home, community, prison, healthcare within the prison, courtroom, police interactions, Children’s Hearings and school were the main focus of this study; not all participants discussed all interactions in all microsystems but what is clear is that a majority of participants had difficulties in historical settings, e.g. in the school environment, or were currently finding interactions within many of the microsystems they inhabited as challenging.

The majority of participants described their interactions in the microsystems of school, police, and in the prison with peers in mostly negative terms; the courtroom microsystem, where support from the lawyer was given, was described mostly positively, despite the lack of understanding of processes. Successful interactions with Children’s Panel Members, with prison officers and with prison healthcare staff were mostly described in terms of reciprocal respect (a perceived demand characteristic), the level of support offered by these professionals and the importance of being heard; again, if respect and a degree of understanding and support was perceived by participants to be offered from these figures, they viewed these interactions as more positive. What is striking from the interview data is the

frequency with which participants described single individuals with which they had had perceived positive interactions; these interactions were sometimes at the microsystemic level (e.g. a PE teacher at school; a personal officer in the prison) or mesosystemic (support worker visiting the prison; lawyer support in the courtroom; social worker at a Children's Hearing) who is often foregrounded by participants against a more pervasive negative background of interactions within a particular microsystem. Participants again emphasised the mutual understanding and respect inherent in these interactions.

At the individual/microsystemic level, the importance of reflection to participants on their interactions with friends is apparent. Reflection informs consolidation and justification of self-protective, often non-proactive communication behaviours, both in community and in prison. Conversely, some participants described attempts to rupture this systemic influence by using an avoidance strategy both in community and prison environments, reducing contact with peer influences who might distract or manoeuvre them away from their goal of timely liberation or staying out of trouble.

Participants discussed exosystemic and macrosystemic level issues much less frequently, which is unsurprising given the nature of the questions they were asked, which pertained mainly to micro-and meso-level interactions; however, they did occasionally make remarks around acceptance or otherwise of particular situations being "the way it is" in prison, for example in the SRU where TV was not provided, or the example of individuals worked around isolation by talking through the doors at one another, or describing the level of qualification or authority of Children's Panel members to make judgements upon them; in describing these interactions, they made indirect comment on the policy and ethos of those systems.

8.6.4. PPCT: Time

Bronfenbrenner (1995) conceptualises time as the final crucial element in individual development, emphasising the importance of the interaction being of an enduring nature: “To be effective, the interaction must occur on a fairly regular basis over extended periods of time.” (p. 620)

Participant descriptions of their interactions – whether with peers, family and professionals were often in terms the changeability and lack of regularity of their interactions in the microsystems they inhabit; leaving and starting at different schools, the variety of care placements they encounter by type and duration, repeatedly coming into and out of prison, starting further education courses but not being able to finish them. Extended and frequent interactions within microsystems that could have direct beneficial developmental effects are rare within the interview data and subsequent themes.

Johns et al. (2017) describe the importance of time and trust in changing attitudes and moving individuals towards more prosocial proximal processes of development, allowing opportunities for the young people to mature out of offending behaviour.

Some participants placed a clear value on the notion of maturity when describing non-friend peers, of having been given time to reflect on their and others’ behaviours, and their attitudes to their own and others’ perceived level of maturity. Alongside maturity, most participants discussed the importance to them of changing their behaviours, of perceived changes in themselves in terms of their attitudes and plans while they had been in the prison, with some discussing the changes they had seen in themselves while at Polmont, or the desire to do so. Participants were able to describe the importance of change, of development over time, and their need to do so.

8.7. Reflections

In this section, reflection is offered on two different aspects of the study. Firstly, the researcher discusses the methodological challenges encountered in carrying out the research project in the prison environment. Secondly, a personal, autobiographical reflection discusses the meaning of the research to the researcher and offers the researcher's view of the main learning points arising from the study and the experience of carrying out the research.

8.7.1. Reflection on Methodological Challenges

Any investigative research process taking place in real-life environments such as prisons – as described in the Methodology section – will inevitably carry limitations that need to be considered. A critical appraisal of these limitations can inform the methodological considerations necessary to further successful projects in this area. This section examines the methodological and conceptual constraints and issues arising from carrying out this research project, examining in chronological order: initial ethical and institutional permission processes; data collection process; and post-hoc analysis. The researcher will firstly examine methodological issues at each of these stages before turning to conceptual issues inherent in the study.

Sample bias and ethical/institutional permission processes

Ethical and institutional permission processes safeguard the anonymity of participants and ensure opportunities for them to make informed decisions about their involvement in the study prior to commencement of data collection. Interestingly, these safeguards themselves may be regarded as having led to the placing of some limitations onto the process of recruitment. Observing the compulsory data protection and confidentiality requirements stipulated by the Research and Development Department at Forth Valley NHS and NHS West of

Scotland 3 Research Ethics Committee (NHS REC) may have led to a sample bias in recruited participants.

During the ethics application process it was specified by the NHS Research Ethics Committee that recruitment of potential participants would have to take place blind; as the participant group is classified as vulnerable due to their age and circumstances, in order to ensure that informed consent had taken place and external pressure to take part in the study kept to a minimum, the researcher was not permitted to meet with interested potential participants prior to their consent to take part being indicated.

This meant that in lieu of face-to-face discussion, the first communication with potential participants was written information sent out to those potential participants identified by the Unit Manager as meeting the inclusion criteria of the study. As specified in the Methodology section (section 4.6.3) written information sent to participants consisted of: a three-page typed sheet containing questions and answers about the study; a consent form which participants were required to initial in agreement; and an envelope addressed to the Healthcare Unit Manager. Potential participants were asked to place the consent form back in the envelope and send back to the Unit. As specified in the ethical approval documentation, application it was originally planned that a nursing healthcare worker would firstly discuss the project with the participant after they had received the written information. However, understandably, this was not possible due to staffing constraints. It was instead decided that to remain within accepted boundaries of ethical practice, only those who returned a consent form were met by the researcher to discuss the project further.

Once consent forms were returned the researcher then contacted the potential participant's hall and arranged an initial meeting to go through the consent form and discuss the study in detail.

A limitation to the sampling procedure is that this method may have favoured those participants with sufficient literacy abilities to read the written information and

follow the instructions to return the envelope. It is likely that the sampling method as it stood may have restricted access to the study for those with lower literacy abilities and/or lack of access to sufficient support to understand the written information provided. Potential participants may have been overwhelmed by the volume of written information received. The result of this is that there may have been a bias in sampling towards potential participants of higher literacy ability or those sufficiently motivated to seek out support in the final sample.

While only partial evidence (one participant), the above scenario, where those with lower abilities require help to get involved in the study, is supported by interview with John, who in our discussion about seeking support reported the following:

John: I cannae read nice words and that. So... I don't even know.

Researcher: Did you... When I gave you the info about this...

John: Aye, somebody helped me read it. (113-115)

The researcher attempted to counteract possible sampling bias in the Round 3 of the recruitment process by reducing the amount of written information sent to participants while still attempting to reflect the importance of informed consent. Having received permission from the NHS REC to change the method, this new procedure was rolled out for Round 3 of recruitment as specified in Section 4.6.3. While the information sheets and envelope were still sent, the researcher obtained permission to send a consent slip instead of the full consent form. The consent slip asked participants to tick “yes” or “no” as to whether they wished to take part with a view to going through the consent form at the potential participant’s own pace when face-to-face.

Using this new method for Round 3 led to a higher response rate than that of the previous two rounds, including one “no” response alongside the six “yes” responses

received. In total, the researcher received 7 responses out of 31 potential participants in this third round – a response rate of 22.6%, compared to 13.5% and 20.8% for rounds 1 and 2 respectively. This certainly supports the view that that written information sent to potential participants in this group can be reduced while still remaining within the boundaries of acceptable ethical practice and considering informed consent in any future studies. Ideally a member of staff would be on hand to discuss the study with participants alongside the sending of a reduced volume of written information; if staff are not on hand to assist, sending solely reduced written information would be preferable.

In addition, feedback from participants about their understanding of forms and letters would have been useful for future studies; this should have been included as part of the interview questions.

Ethics process and gaining permission to interact with participants

The measures taken by the researcher towards the end of the data collection period (use of simpler “yes/no” form) were an attempt to reduce the impact on the study of having been denied permission by NHS Ethics Committee to talk to potential participants. This was not a satisfactory approach and resulted in a possible skewed participant sample that was more literate than was truly representative of the group.

In future, the researcher (and other researchers carrying out this work) should argue the case more strongly for the value of face-to-face discussion prior to participation, given the nature of the study and the potential difficulties being investigated (SLCN). It is important that ethics committees have a full and clear understanding of how SLCN can underpin literacy difficulties; they should be made aware that if researchers are required to provide the standard level of written information to participants (introductory letter, consent form, information sheet with requisite questions about the study) this may have a direct effect on

motivation for participation and skew the profile of the sample group in studies such as these. Providing additional information about the expected literacy level of the participant group to committees would allow further discussion of methods of engaging participants while protecting their right to refuse.

In addition, to address a difficulty encountered within this study was the dependence by the researcher on the healthcare unit staff to offer information support to potential participants, which became unworkable with the move of new prisoners from Cornton Vale. In any future studies, the researcher would take a different approach with ethics committees to address concerns around coercion of participants into the study by adding that the potential participant could nominate a trusted individual (personal officer, friend, counsellor, prison chaplain) to sit in to discuss the project and ask questions of the researcher. This should be included in the ethical permissions application to add an extra safeguard for the wellbeing of the potential participant.

Sample size

The small sample size of the final participant group is a limitation to the study's generalisability, particularly in terms of the language assessment results. While 10 participants was a "manageable" amount for the researcher in terms of providing sufficient data for the qualitative aspect of the study Braun and Clarke (2006) specify that a sample size of 10 is a "small" group, but a sample size of 9 (in the case of assessment) and 10 (in the case of interview) does not lend itself to drawing conclusions due to the lack of generalisability apparent from such a small group.

Inclusion/exclusion criteria: Sampling methods were limited by a range of external factors. On reflection, the two-month cut-off point for residence within Dunedin SRU to qualify as a potential participant limited the pool of potential participants available for the project; given that the range of durations and experiences of

Dunedin SRU – from 24 hours to 1 month in the SRU – described in the final interviews and corroborated by external SPS data were not particularly detailed, a greater number of participants could have been gained from a cut-off point of much longer duration, for example six months, or even a year.

Choice of assessment

In this section reasons for choice of assessment and other methodological considerations pertaining to the justice vocabulary and formal language assessment portions of the study are offered.

Informal justice vocabulary assessment

In the planning stages, a pilot of the justice vocabulary assessment portion of the study was considered by the researcher. However, the complexity of the access process to potential participants as detailed in the previous section meant that piloting the assessment on a suitably matched control group (young offenders) was not possible in the data collection period. While a control group of, for example, students of similar age at Queen Margaret University would have provided an age-matched control group, students' level of education and life experience would have been too markedly different to that of potential participants for this group to offer any meaningful comparison.

Unarguably, carrying out a pilot stage for this assessment would have been a useful and valid addition to the research process, not least, as van Teijlingen and Hundley (2001) state because, "Pilot studies may [...] try to identify potential practical problems in following the research procedure" (p.1).

Certain elements of the assessment process could have been modified if a pilot stage had been a viable option. For example, the researcher attempted to standardise administration of the assessment as much as possible with participants,

by presenting them with the individual word and waiting for a discursive response, and carrying out presentation of the assessment in one sitting. However, a pilot stage would have allowed the researcher to standardise further, for example, offering the same probe questions to participants when they stumbled when offering a definition. Some participants received more questioning than others from the researcher before arriving at a definition. It may have offered an opportunity for refinement of proposed target items to a smaller amount. An additional “put the word in a sentence” question may have elucidated more succinctly their understanding of the target items than the discursive approach. A pilot stage would have allowed the researcher to consider these issues prior to the assessment rather than on an ad-hoc or post-hoc basis.

Formal language assessment – CELF-4 UK

One of the chief difficulties in choosing assessments was finding one that would cater for this age range in order to provide a useful and meaningful result for interpretation. In the end, the CELF-4 (Semel and Wiig, 2006) was chosen as a compromise for a number of reasons.

The choice of using a single language assessment battery was strongly influenced by the researcher’s reading around the topic of the difficulty of prison research as discussed in Section 4.4.2, in particular the discussion around difficulties with initial recruitment of participants in the prison setting and subsequent high participant attrition rates. As such, the researcher formed the view that it was likely that two sessions would be the maximum number of opportunities provided to recruit, assess and interview participants. Accordingly, there was a need to find a reliable and easily administered assessment that also allowed cross-comparison with previous studies. Another influencing factor in the researcher’s decision was that CELF-4 is commonly used across the prison estate in Scotland as a reliable

assessment tool to highlight the presence or absence of language disorder and to allow SLTs to pinpoint key areas of language difficulty.

The CELF-4 assessment battery's standardized nature would allow the researcher to make cross comparisons with other studies (for example, Crew and Ellis, 2008; Curran, Porter and Games, 2012), with CELF subtests used widely across the literature in this area (for example, Sanger et al, 2003; Blanton and Dagenais, 2007; Snow and Powell, 2008; Gregory and Bryan, 2011). The Core Language Scores subtest battery was chosen by the researcher as it provided a reliable and comparable set of scores that allowed the researcher to compare results within the group according to a mean score. The researcher had experience administering Core Language Score subtests in other contexts and given the perceived (at this point) unpredictable nature of the research environment, a single assessment session consisting of five subtests was decided upon alongside the informal assessment of vocabulary.

One limitation of the choice of assessment relates to a disparity between the age range covered by the standardisation sample for the assessment and the age range of the participant sample recruited. While the CELF-4 standardisation sample has a ceiling age of 16;11 for comparison, the range for the participant sample was 17;5 - 22;10, with a mean of 20;1. This meant that all participant performance was compared to the ceiling age of 16;11, thereby reducing the accuracy and scope for discussion of results. While the maximum Core Language Score attained was 102 by James aged 22;10, with a score attained at just above the mean for an equivalent 16;11 performance. It is certainly the case that this is still a result that can be meaningfully interpreted, rather with a "best fit" approach than for the full purposes of the assessment. While using the CELF-4 Core Language Scores assessment battery met the purposes of the study in that it offered a perspective on language abilities across the group compared to a typically developing young person aged 16;11, other assessments could have also been used.

Alternative assessment approaches could be considered in the light of the researcher's experience of conducting research in this environment. While initially, the researcher was of the view that participants would not wish to engage for long with assessment, with the exception of one participant who dropped out (coded Y11, see Methodology, Section 4.6.3.1), participants were for the most part enthusiastic and willingly involved in the assessment process, a few even expressing disappointment when the tests were complete as they had enjoyed them so much.

Given this enthusiasm from the participant group, it is likely that a number of additional language assessments with a standardised comparison age range up to adulthood could have been administered alongside the CELF-4, thereby enriching and providing greater scope for analysis than in the current study. For example, while TROG-2 (Test of Reception of Grammar, 2nd edition) (Bishop, 2003) was considered as an alternative means of testing comprehension of grammar, the researcher rejected this option partly as a result of Bryan et al. (2007)'s observation (p.22) when working with young offenders that "...the young people found the TROG unacceptable. They reported that it was demeaning and boring despite on the whole performing well."

On reflection, given the researcher's experience and increased confidence of administering language assessment with this participant group, TROG-2 would have provided a valuable extra dimension to the formal language testing. Likewise, use of the TOAL-4 (Test of Adolescent Language-4) (Hammill, Brown, Larsen, & Wiederholt, 2007) with this participant group would be appropriate. A composite Spoken Language score (derived from Word Opposites, Word Derivations, and Spoken Analogies subtests) would be a suitable alternative or additional assessment of verbal expressive and receptive language with this group.

Self-report as a measure of ability

The use of self-report as a measure of ability in incarcerated populations has been treated with some scepticism in the available literature, with reliability the main sticking point. As Loucks (2007) states, in her investigation into the prevalence of learning disability in the UK prison system, *No-One Knows*:

..self-report methods are unreliable because of poor accuracy in recall; hesitance to disclose difficulties or disabilities; underestimates of significance of behaviour; and a tendency for some people to identify themselves as learning disabled when clinical assessments suggest they fail to meet the formal criteria for this. (p. 4)

Some authors have shown support for self-report as a method given it provides a voice for the participant to describe their own experiences (Pugach, 2001); Bryan (2004) concludes that while as a method it may act as a useful clinical indicator, self-report cannot replace standardised assessment as a means of accurately establishing prevalence of language disorder in a population.

While not a limitation of the study as such, given the precedence given to participant views of their own abilities, the researcher was aware of this research and the overriding dangers around solely relying on self-report as means of establishing prevalence. When planning the study, the researcher wished to administer the CELF-4 as a means of establishing a prevalence of possible language disorder to use alongside the participants' discussion of their abilities.

8.7.2. Autobiographical reflection

This section is written in the first person given the personal nature of the reflection. Section 8.8 onwards will revert to a more academic third person style of writing.

Before getting the opportunity to carry out this research, I had already spent a number of years developing my initial proposed PhD project, which involved language assessment and interview of looked-after young people with experience of Scotland's Children's Hearings System about their language and communication needs. In particular, I was interested in the experience of young people who had "looked-after at home" status, since their lived experience has not been described in the literature to date – in effect, making them the most marginalised of an already hard-to-reach population. I made and maintained links with a number of third-party charity organisations in order to gain participants for the project but this did not come to fruition for a variety of logistical reasons. However, I maintained my interest in this area while continuing with the project (see below), with a journal article published in December 2018 with my PhD Supervisor discussing perceptions of SLCN by Panel Members and Children's Reporters (See Appendix S for full article).

An opportunity arose due to links already made with the SLT department at Polmont HMYOI and I made the decision to switch the focus of my research to a different population. The process is described in the beginning of the Methodology chapter.

Also discussed at the beginning of the Methodology chapter, is a distinction I make between "doing prison research" and "doing research in a prison". Having now had experience of both, I would like to examine this distinction more closely in my reflection.

In essence, the overall experience of "doing prison research" is complex and often emotionally draining. Surprisingly to me, I found its subordinate element, "doing research in a prison", while mentally and emotionally taxing, a highly satisfying experience that allowed me to make good use of my communicative and interpersonal skills to achieve the research aims and also gave me insight into areas of my own development. I will examine the former concept, then the latter, in turn.

Doing prison research

While I was under no illusions that the volume of work involved with this project was large, there were frequent occasions throughout the process, prior to data collection, when I wondered if the project would come to fruition. As a relatively inexperienced researcher in this area, gaining mutually contingent permissions from the NHS Forth Valley R&D Department, NHS Research Ethics Committee and the Scottish Prison Service as discussed in Section 4.6.1. took around seven months of continuous daily work, from January 2016-July 2016. The NHS REC meeting to discuss the application occurred in July 2016, and approval followed soon afterwards.

When this process was complete, with all parties informed of a prospective end date for data collection of December 2016, the project had to be delayed due to the transition of women prisoners from HMP Cornton Vale to Polmont HMYOI. This necessitated requesting a new end date for the data collection, involving all parties again in order to provide permissions to extend the project. Pressures on the healthcare staff due to this new volume of clients at this point also meant that it was necessary to reconsider the terms of contacting participants for involvement in the project as intended staff were not available to do so and the conditions placed on the project method by the REC and Forth Valley R&D.

At this point it was crucial to remain flexible, patient and creative, and to consider alternative ways of achieving the project aims within the important and necessary ethical boundaries placed on it by the NHS REC and R&D departments. This was a very stressful period, particularly given the previous difficulties I had had with attempting to remain in contact with third-party organisations in the first few years of my research project. I am fortunate to have had a supervisor who actively encouraged me to find new creative solutions at these times and who was always free for discussion. In addition, the Research and Development Officer at NHS Forth Valley and Healthcare Unit Manager at Polmont were extremely helpful, offering guidance when I was stuck or did not understand what was required next. Nurturing

and maintaining supportive relationships – as described by Apa et al. (2012) – is crucial to carrying out work in this area. I was appreciative of the value of these relationships from the beginning and made sure to ask questions and gain clarifications from those more knowledgeable than me. The experience of the first iteration of the project spurred me on further to ensure I kept up the momentum on the project and was consistent in my messages to all parties.

Doing research in a prison

The data collection phase of the project was markedly different to the permissions and set-up process. I found that my experience of the first process, however, heavily informed my expectations when going into the prison for data collection. Primarily, this meant I came into the data collection process with an understanding that my plans for any day would not necessarily turn out as expected, and I should be prepared for different eventualities. For example, some participants decided they did not wish to see me on the day I turned up at the halls. Others were not available due to attending a funeral, or deciding to attend a work party at the last minute. This acceptance of unpredictability meant I always had “back-up plans”, for example, noting whether other participants lived in the same halls and asking if they were free to meet; taking advice from officers on the best times to return; accepting that sometimes, a day would go by with no participants, and having background records work to do on those days.

When considering the data collection process, one of my main concerns was participant attrition and the need to establish rapport. This involved some self-examination around ways to present myself to ensure my participants would return from one session to the next, and I made a decision to begin with interviews first, rather than language assessment, as this increased the likelihood of building a relationship. In the end, I found this process was less stressful than expected, and the majority of participants remained to enthusiastically take part throughout both portions of the study.

I feel that my ability to gain and maintain rapport with the majority of participants was one of my major personal achievements throughout carrying out this study. In my experience, participants were at ease relatively quickly once I discussed the point of the study and answered any questions they had. Later interviews are clearly more relaxed and discursive, with participants and I sharing jokes and observations about a wider array of topics than were included on the interview schedule. I became more confident to follow the participant's conversational lead while being mindful of my research aims. Listening back to the audio interviews, I can hear how I became more confident and actually talk less, with discussion flowing more naturally. The final interview I conducted was with James, lasted around 80 minutes in total, and is the most fluid and wide-ranging of the interviews. I feel that working for longer with a larger sample would have continued this positive trajectory and enriched the project results further.

The experience of working with the participants in this study was a privilege. The young men offered candid, insightful and reflective opinions about their own abilities and their lived experience. My initial intention with this study was to further the discussion and give further insight into the experiences of young men who are so often hidden behind the prevalence figures in the research. I feel that alongside this achievement, I found out a great deal about how I carry out research of this nature, and was able to adopt a sympathetic and rigorous approach to the work.

The first phase of "doing prison research" is, of course, crucial. It is absolutely right that all researchers should be required to justify their reasons for involving vulnerable and marginalised young people in their work and to offer assurances that no harm is done to participants. The first phase of "doing prison research" was a wholly stressful and frustrating experience as predicted by the authors discussed in Section 4.2.1. However, what is discussed less in this work is its necessity in terms of providing a thorough examination of why we as researchers should be carrying out this research in the first place. It provides us with a period of time in which to

pause to consider that if we are to carry out research with vulnerable groups such as the young men I worked with, we should be doing so with a high degree of compassion and understanding.

While the process of gaining the necessary permissions was long and fraught at times, it has prepared me as a researcher to repeat the process if necessary with a much wider knowledge base and practical understanding of the steps required to carry out further research in this area.

I look forward to continuing to devise and carry out more research in this area. While it is undoubtedly “difficult”, having successfully completed this project, my willingness to search for further opportunities in this area has grown considerably.

8.8. Contribution to Knowledge

This section outlines the unique contribution to knowledge provided by this thesis.

The current study has examined the views of a specific incarcerated population – those who have recently spent time in the SRU for breach of prison rules – on their own language and communication abilities. This sample group has to date not featured in the available literature in this area.

It has been long established that the prevalence of language disorder in young offender populations is high, with a majority of studies establishing this by administration and subsequent analysis of standardised assessments (Bryan et al, 2007; Anderson et al, 2016). This study adds to the sum of knowledge in this area by additional contribution of further prevalence figures (44% of participants with indicated language disorder) to the evidence base.

Additional informal justice vocabulary assessment has contradicted findings from other studies into young offenders' understanding of common terminology in judicial settings, with a majority able to define terms correctly. The significance of experience and exposure to high frequency vocabulary has not been discussed previously in the literature for this population.

Self-report and interview methods have been used in a few studies with young offender populations in custody as additional tools for triangulatory purposes (e.g. Bryan et al, 2007). Alongside these predominantly quantitative studies into the language abilities of both incarcerated and community offending populations, a handful of qualitative studies (Sanger et al, 2003; Hopkins et al, 2016; Lount et al, 2017) have examined the views of community-based young offenders into their own views of their language and communication abilities. The scope of the qualitative investigation has encompassed participant views on a wider variety of settings than has featured previously in the literature.

A further contribution of the study lies in its inclusion of a broad range of settings for views on interactions with peers and authority figures. The investigation

encompasses participant views on interactions in historical settings (school and home life, care experience and Children's Hearings) and also current welfare and justice settings (courtroom, police interview, prison healthcare) and the different perceptions and attitudes to these of participants. Another unique feature of this investigation is the primary focus on the prison setting itself and in particular, participant views about their motivations to interact with their peers in this environment. The study has broadened the scope of investigation in this area and finds overlap with evidence bases from social science and criminological literature regarding the characterisation and attitudes to prison violence, approaching these issues from a language and communication based perspective. The study has achieved this by direct investigation of the personal, lived experience of the young men affected through qualitative analysis of interview data.

An additional contribution to knowledge is the application of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model to the themes formulated from the qualitative data in an attempt to capture the richness and complexity of the available interview data and subsequent themes; in doing so, the researcher has attempted to capture the richness and nuance of the lived experience of the young men involved with the study and the ways in which their intrinsic and extrinsic difficulties with language and communication may prevent access to development opportunities across differently hierarchical social systems, and across time.

8.8.1. Contribution to Knowledge: Summary statements

This study provides a unique contribution to knowledge in the field of language and communication difficulties of young offenders. The following areas make this contribution:

- Use of a unique population sample: incarcerated young men with experience of removal from association.
- A two-strand qualitative and quantitative design to provide a rich and nuanced exploration of language and communication difficulties within this unique group.
- Use of standardised assessment with this unique group to ascertain nature and prevalence of language abilities.
- Use of informal vocabulary assessment with this unique group to investigate their understanding of commonly used justice terms.
- A detailed account of the views of young incarcerated men on their language and communication abilities.
- A detailed account of young incarcerated men's views on their interactions with their peers in the prison setting, and interactions with authority figures in historical and current institutional settings. These accounts encompass a wider scope of settings than has been examined in the literature to date.
- Investigation of views on peer and authority figure interactions in a wider range of historical and current settings than has previously been investigated in the evidence base.
- A detailed account of views around conflict situations within the prison setting, how these arise, and their views on their abilities to deal with them when they occur.
- Use of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model to integrate findings from qualitative and quantitative strands of the study into a theoretical framework.

8.9. Implications

In the light of the findings from both the qualitative and quantitative strands of the study, there are a number of implications for practice brought up by this study.

Most broadly, the findings of this study support not only the continued involvement of the speech and language therapy profession within the justice system and prison service, but the importance of a stronger SLT presence within all relevant justice settings. This would include Children's Hearings, the courtroom, police settings and the prison, in order to provide communication support and advice not only to the young men themselves but also to the variety of professionals and volunteers.

8.9.1. Implications: Quantitative Findings

Of the nine participants who took part in standardised assessment, 44% (4/9) had language abilities below the normal range with two falling into the severe category. None of these participants had reported that they had had contact with speech and language therapy up to the point of interview and no involvement was indicated on their available healthcare records.

No participants scored at top age equivalent 16;11 on standardised assessment, with highest scores reaching the mean or just above (102). One participant recalled in interview having had contact with SLT but was unable to precisely recall the reason why this had occurred.

While this is a small sample, this prevalence result broadly replicates those of other studies in the field, e.g. Bryan et al, 2007; Blanton and Dagenais, 2007; Snow and Powell, 2008; Snow and Powell, 2011; Bryan et al, 2015; Anderson et al, 2016, Lount et al, 2017. As Bryan et al. (2007) have pointed out, these may become the expected "norm" within the prison where limited language skills may not be identified, recognised or supported by staff, which in turn may lower expectations of staff and other prisoners; in turn this has implications for participation and effective

engagement in social and training activities and a knock-on effect on the social environment of the prison.

An unpublished study at HMP Glenochil by Green (2017) examining the communication skills of adult prisoners concluded that 77% of participants had a speech and/or language disorder, illustrating once again the persistent nature of these difficulties and a sense of the cycle remaining unbroken from youth offending into adulthood. Speech, language and communication needs will not be addressed unless they are initially recognised and supported; until needs are recognised, expectations of improvement or change – from both staff and peers – remain low with difficulties ascribed to other causes (Cohen et al, 1998; Brownlie et al, 2004), with the cycle thus continuing, with highly detrimental effects on individuals' quality of life.

8.9.2. Implications: Qualitative Findings

Implications for SLT services in prisons

A clear implication of qualitative findings for SLT services in prisons, given the wide variety of historical and current situations described by participants, is that these young people are as capable as any other of providing insightful accounts of those values and experiences they consider important to them when attempting to enact change. The importance of trust and shared respect between young people and SLT professionals cannot be underestimated in the prison environment; SLTs must build rapport and demonstrate understanding to their clients in this environment as much as is expected in the community if they wish to work with them to bring about effective intervention. Young people in custody, according to the qualitative findings of the study, have expectations of support from professionals and also to be heard by them when offering their views; if these are not met, trust and respect of professionals – and subsequent engagement - appear to break down quickly.

In addition, it is clear from the interviews that imprisoned young offenders do not simply “happen”. Current discussion of the accumulation of Adverse Childhood Experiences (Felitti et al, 1998; Dube et al, 2001; Vaswani et al, 2018) in the lives of young people is highly relevant here and borne out by their reported lived experiences as discussed in the current study. As documented in the Methodology section, all participants had had contact with the justice system previously. Pathways to imprisonment for young people, while individual in the sense that the circumstances that lead to imprisonment will vary for each person as an analogue of their own individuality, are broadly similar. Key themes, features and experiences arise between individuals which offer indications of risk. Unidentified and unmet communication support needs are a crucial component of this mosaic of risk, because of the well documented evidence surrounding the associations between unidentified needs and school exclusion and educational attainment, increased risk of mental health difficulties and increased risk of behavioural diagnoses. Identifying and meeting the communication support needs of this vulnerable group is a key element in the effort to disrupt the pathway many of these young people are travelling.

The majority of participants discussed their experiences of difficulties at school, school exclusion, a variety of education settings, looked-after experiences, emotional and behavioural difficulties, and inevitably, involvement with police and the courts before their sentencing and imprisonment. They describe repeatedly a reduced experience of successful interactions with the authority figures they encountered, from school, to family breakup and care experience, to the courtroom, to police interview, and to prison. Through the lens of Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems theory, this lack of successful interaction is mirrored in the reduced experience of positive proximal processes that may support their development throughout the micro- and meso-systemic level interactions they experience.

As such, the qualitative findings demonstrate participants' ability to describe the links between, for example, their present mental health, past educational and social experiences, and their language and communication abilities. Participants describe the social pressures, difficulties and also positive relationships they encounter within the prison setting and the ways these can affect their engagement with services. An appreciation of the complexity of these young men's experience – for SLT services, which adopts a person-centred holistic approach to assessment and treatment, and for all other services working alongside it – is absolutely vital for effect change to be enacted.

The qualitative findings outline the junctures in a young person's life where intervention may be crucial (e.g. exclusion from school; leaving school; first offence; experiencing trauma; looked-after experiences). A number of initiatives to implement intervention with SLT involvement are in existence, for example, the No Wrong Door project run by North Yorkshire County Council includes two speech and language therapists within both of its dedicated professional support teams. The team also consists of care workers, clinical psychologists and police liaison officers. The aim of the No Wrong Door initiative is to provide integrated support in the community for young people with escalating needs who are on the edge of care. In the five month period from April-September 2016, 83 out of 142 referred young people were found to have an unidentified speech, language or communication need; the communication support workers were then able to signpost and also offer indirect intervention by offering training, consultation and advice to other professionals and family involved with the young person. Evaluation of the initiative after two years highlighted the following outcomes: reduction in criminal activity by the young people involved, an increase in those involved in Education, Employment or Training, and a reduction in high risk behaviours including substance use and absconding. On the basis of the success of the No Wrong Door initiative, Perth and Kinross are taking a similarly hub-based multidisciplinary approach with their REACH project, which is currently planned to start in January 2019.

Milton Keynes Youth Offending Team has adopted a “screening out” approach to communication support needs, rather than “screening in”, where there is a fundamental assumption that young people referred to the service will have some form of a special educational need that needs to be met in order to begin to bring about a better outcome (RCSLT, 2018b). Engagement with the services offered by the young person is a crucial aspect in the success of all of these initiatives, with the building of positive relationships between professionals and service users, and a shared understanding of common goals, a key element of any future work.

Indeed, the qualitative findings of the study have implications for SLT practice in the prison environment. At the moment, no specific SLCN screening procedures are in place for newly sentenced and housed prisoners. A screening tool examining an individual’s receptive and expressive language skills, narrative skills, vocabulary and literacy as they entered the prison would allow professionals to have an overview of the immediate formal needs of the individual and tailor intervention and support accordingly. Common to all of the above examples is the screening of communication support needs at a point where the individual embarks on new interactions within microsystems that are part of larger exosystemic institutions: justice, care and prison systems. Each “system” comprises smaller, one-to-one or group microsystemic interactions that, through proximal processes, shape that young person’s future development. Whether the young person is entering or at high risk of entering care, or beginning to make use of youth offending team services, or entering prison, these are the points at which gaining detailed knowledge of their communication support needs – by use of assessment and interview data – can be most effective in informing intervention with the aim of providing better outcomes for those individuals.

Another implication arising from the qualitative findings centres on the delivery of interventions and also their effectiveness in the typical social environments these young people inhabit. While it is established that a majority of interventions are still verbally mediated or contain abstract language that can be difficult to understand

for the young person in custody (Davies et al., 2004), the potential effectiveness of, for example, a social skills programme for an individual in a communication-poor environment such as prison halls must be examined. Tailoring such interventions to the prison environment these young people must negotiate every day – which as they have described, is a charged and highly challenging environment for all individuals, regardless of language and communication abilities is a complex question that requires more investigation. Applicability and effectiveness of interventions in markedly differing prison environments and community settings is also a factor to take into consideration when designing interventions.

A further implication of the findings is for potential for training of all staff groups that interact with young people in the prison environment. Training on communication difficulties in vulnerable and at-risk populations can provide another means of intervening in the pathway by raising professionals' expectations of the individuals they work with while also providing them with skills to communicate effectively. An e-learning approach has been adopted by the Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists, which offers free training (The Box – www.rcsltcpd.org) for justice professionals to support them in identifying communication difficulties of the people they work with and understanding their impact on individuals involved in the justice system. In the first instance, training personal officers to identify, understand and support the SLCN in the young people they are assigned would be a valuable first step.

For example, Gregory and Bryan (2009; 2011) and Heritage, Virag and McCuaig (2011) have demonstrated the value of providing specific training around language and communication needs to Youth Offending Service staff. Gregory and Bryan (2009) found a prevalence of 65% of young people (n=72) with language difficulties in a population sentenced to the ISSP (Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme); under SLT supervision, each young person was provided with an individually tailored intervention plan. Workers reported that their increased understanding of language and communication difficulties allowed them to improve

their working practices and also their own confidence in their abilities, with a mean confidence self-rating of 2.9 at the start of the intervention rising to a mean of 7.8 by its completion. For the young people themselves, 88% of those with expressive language difficulties showed an improvement post-intervention; the group showed an increase in their language and communication skills by an average of two standard deviations on standardised assessment. Heritage, Virag and McCuaig (2011) describe the “Better Outcomes for Young Offenders” project in Derby YOT where SLTs worked alongside YOT workers to consult, advise and provide intervention for service users on their communication support needs. The authors concluded that the benefits of SLT for young people in the YOS were an increase in the prevention of re-offending rates, a reduction in custodial sentences, and reduced costs for Mental Health Services. Staff reported that having an increased awareness of SLCN and knowing how to refer a young person to SLT services was now essential to their role; in addition, they reported increased confidence from the training and experience of consulting and discussing cases with an SLT.

The level of engagement and interest from participants in the interview portion of this study was unexpected by the researcher given the background of caveats and often negative descriptions of qualitative prison-based research within the literature. Participants frequently offered insightful and reflective views about their own language and communication abilities, the importance they placed on communication and literacy, and the selectivity with which they described their motivations to communicate. Participants frequently discussed issues they felt arose around their language and communication abilities, for example, Stephen on his concerns he was not understood by his peers, or James feeling as though he was overly expressive and often took a long time to get his point across. Given the paucity of standardised assessments for this age group, and the subtlety of language difficulties in adolescence and early adulthood (Clegg et al, 2009; Nippold et al, 2009) using interview methods alongside language assessment when working with young people is a valid and significant addition to the information that formal assessment can provide and augments and informs a more collaborative approach

to goal setting if the possibility of one-to-one intervention arises. In addition, understanding the values these young men prize around mutual respect, shared understanding, having feelings of control or agency, and a need for familiarity and predictability with the authority figures and peers they encounter on a daily basis is vital to understanding their worldview and likelihood of engagement with any future language and communication interventions. Thus the presence of language disorder in this population does not preclude these young people from offering insights and perspectives on their strengths and challenges. Gaining this information is vital to providing a more holistic picture of the individual and the challenges they face and should be incorporated into practice alongside traditional standardised language assessment methods.

8.10. Future research

The current study is one of a small number to date (Sanger et al, 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Hopkins et al, 2016; Lount et al, 2017) investigating the views of young people who have offended on their language and communication skills; the themes contained in this study were formulated from participant views, however, not all participants contributed to all themes and subthemes. More research is required to illuminate further participant views on the interactions they have with professionals in the broader criminal justice system; in particular how young people discuss their communication strategies in, for example, police interview or the court setting, and the reasoning for this. Of course, a fuller picture would be gained also by greater involvement of the professionals themselves – police, judges/Sheriffs, prison officers, healthcare professionals and lawyers into their own perceptions and views of the young people and their difficulties, and their own motivations and attitudes around supporting young people's language and communication difficulties. A research project carried out by the researcher and colleague (Clark and Fitzsimons, 2018) has highlighted the concerns of Panel Members and Children's Reporters

about their role in supporting the communication needs of young people in the Hearings System. Other research with professionals would be welcome.

The last decade or so has seen a cluster of PhD theses examining language disorder in incarcerated and community youth offending populations by qualitative and quantitative means in English speaking countries, particularly across England, Scotland, Australia and New Zealand. It is crucial that this wave of new research continue to be developed and that other authors build on the current findings from this work. Relatively speaking, this is still an embryonic area for research, with other populations of interest still notably absent from the literature, particularly those charged with sexual offences (building on the work of Mauridsen and Hauschild, 2009), newly imprisoned young offenders, or those on remand. Taking a cue from the Milton Keynes community YOT project discussed above (RCSLT 2018b), greater frequency of screening communication support needs of all young people entering a Young Offender Institution over an extended period, for example, 1-2 years, would provide a more compelling argument for a continuing process of identification of need as a matter of course in the prison system to complement the “snapshots” that must be offered by the sporadic research access currently available. Such research could also be used to strengthen the argument for increased speech and language therapy service provision within the prison service.

In addition, follow-up longitudinal studies of young people with persistent diagnosed language disorder who have been liberated are necessary. A view of their needs in the community post-liberation, gained by interview and formal language assessment, would provide a valuable account so far missing from the literature.

Replication of the current study in relation to other sample populations would be a crucial addition to the evidence base in this area, in particular incarcerated women offenders, who are currently missing from the evidence base. Scotland has the second-highest female prison population in Europe, which doubled between 2002 and 2012 (Scottish Government, 2015). Prevalence figures of language disorder in female offenders are scarce in the evidence base and what is available is

unrepresentative of Scotland and the UK in the 21st century. For example, the RCSLT still provides a prevalence figure of 44% in female offenders (n=50) with “one or more of the following: hearing, language comprehension, fluency (i.e. stammering) and voice disorders” from a 35-year-old North American study (Wagner, 1983) in its evidence dossiers to Parliament. Women prisoner populations have a number of background characteristics that indicate an increased risk of language and communication difficulties, including higher prevalence of mental health issues (Prison Reform Trust, 2008), higher likelihood of holding no qualifications (71% cf 15% of the general population)(SEU, 2002), to be raised in more deprived, low SES environments (Farrington and Painter, 2004) and a high prevalence of experience of childhood abuse and neglect (Sylvestre et al, 2015; Grant and Gravestock, 2003).

8.11. Conclusions

The intention of this study was twofold:

1. to ascertain the nature and prevalence of the language abilities of incarcerated young male offenders with recent experience of removal from association using standardised language assessment and informal vocabulary assessment.
2. to investigate their views, by use of semi-structured interview, on their language and communication abilities, their views on their relationships with peers, and their expectations and views of authority figures they had encountered within the criminal justice system, education system, and the Children’s Hearings System.

10 young men with recent experience of removal from association while in custody (n=9) or on remand (n=1) at Polmont HMYOI were recruited. All participants took part in the interview portion of the study. Nine participants took part in language assessment. Ages ranged between 17;5 and 22;10. The mean age of the sample was

20;1. Quantitative results demonstrated that on formal standardised assessment, language disorder was indicated in 44% (n=4) of the sample (ranging mild to severe), with the remainder of the sample's scores clustering around the mean score for age equivalent 16;11.

On informal justice vocabulary assessment, participants scored an unexpectedly high average of 85% correct in verbally defining single justice vocabulary target items. This may reflect the effect of cumulative experience of the justice system on knowledge of specific words.

A majority of participants engaged in a reflective and open manner to discuss their communication difficulties and strengths, how they viewed themselves as communicators, and how they viewed their interactions with others in a variety of institutional settings. Fundamentally, it is indicated by results that young incarcerated men are able to offer reflective and rich views on their language and communication abilities when given the opportunity to do so. Gaining their views about their abilities with reference to the typical settings and interactions they encounter and have encountered in the past provides insight into their values and attitudes surrounding their interactions with peers and authority figures, and the barriers, whether internally or externally imposed, that lead to communication breakdown and negative outcomes for both the individual and others around them. Young incarcerated men's views on their own language and communication abilities often show a nuanced and reflective approach not yet evidenced in the research literature.

Thematic analysis of interview data resulted in the formulation of three main themes. These were categorised as *Valuing Communication, Literacy and Learning, Exerting Control and Seeking Support*.

The following findings emerged from the qualitative analysis:

- Values centring on *reciprocal respect*, *familiarity* and an element of *perceived control* over their environment are of great importance to young incarcerated men as precursors to attempting to engage in meaningful, positive interactions both with peers and authority figures encountered within the microsystems they inhabit. When control, respect or familiarity with communication partners are limited whether by attitude and/or circumstance, the likelihood of communication breakdown increases. Language assessment results reinforce the argument that this applies across the board, irrespective of language ability.
- Participants described how their approach to their interactions differs between settings, where perceptions of their communication with familiar individuals, family and friends, are more prosocial and positive. When dealing with professionals in justice and welfare settings, in particular the courtroom, in police interview, in the prison, and during Children's Hearings, their attitudes to interactions vary according to the level of respect shown and familiarity with the communication partner.
- Young incarcerated men have an *expectation of support from and to be heard by* the authority figures they encounter within the variety of systems they inhabit.

That identification of language disorder is a key contributory first step in efforts to intervene and improve the life outcomes of young offenders is now beyond doubt. In keeping with the ethos of speech and language therapy service provision, adopting a holistic approach and gaining views of the lived experience of those directly affected, the young men themselves, is a valuable and to date underused methodological approach. We must pay attention to and appreciate these young men's views on the value and quality of their interactions, their motivations to interact, and the barriers to their understanding across the variety of justice and educational settings they encounter. This provides us with means of understanding

what is important to them, provides reasons why they respond in particular ways to a challenging environment, and gives us a real opportunity to formulate meaningful and effective interventions that can enrich their lives both in the prison setting and upon liberation.

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PAUSING MID-SENTENCE:
YOUNG OFFENDER PERSPECTIVES ON THEIR
LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION NEEDS

DERMOT FITZSIMONS

Appendices

QUEEN MARGARET UNIVERSITY

2019

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APPENDIX A: RESEARCH PROPOSAL

BACKGROUND

At least 60% of young people in the UK accessing youth justice services have speech, language and communication difficulties which largely go unidentified (Bryan, 2007, 2011). These difficulties significantly impair their ability to access and benefit from targeted youth justice services and interventions. Language difficulties are also a risk factor for behavioural problems (Beitchman et al, 2001) and volatile peer relationships (Redmond and Rice, 1998). With involvement in youth justice services, demands on language ability increase as the young people (YP) must use their language skills to give their “side of the story”, to justify decisions and interpret their own and others’ motivations (Lavigne and van Rybroek, 2014). Little is known about the perspective of those young people accessing youth justice services regarding their own communication and language abilities (Hopkins et al, 2016).

There is no research into the communication skills of those young people most at risk within the youth justice estate - those placed in segregation. Using both standardized assessment and semi-structured interviews in order to gain information on the YP’s perspective will allow us to expand the knowledge base and develop training for prison staff to support the communication needs of the young people in prison and in transition back into the community.

METHODOLOGY

- Main Researcher: Dermot Fitzsimons (1 day per week)
- Principal Investigator: Dr Ann Clark (1/2 day per week)

Participants

- Young people housed in Dunedin Unit, Polmont YOI
- Aiming for a minimum of 20 participants within six months

Research Questions

The following research questions complement each other; the first involves quantitative measures of communication and language ability, the others take a qualitative approach to examining the young people’s perspective on their communication and language abilities.

1. *What is the nature of the communication skills of the young people (YP) in Dunedin?*
2. *What do the YP think of their understanding of others, their own literacy and expressive language skills? How important do they think these are?*
3. *How satisfied are the YP with their communication with others and how has this influenced interaction at home, in school, and in the youth justice system?*
4. *What do they think their short-term, immediate communication support needs are within the prison setting?*
5. *What do they think their long-term communication support needs are likely to be when transitioning into the community?*

Method

- Maximum accumulated assessment time – 2 hours
- Assess language and communication skills using Clinical Evaluation of Language Fundamentals-4 (CELF-4) Core Language Tests (Receptive and Expressive) - four of the following:
 - Recalling Sentences
 - Formulated Sentences
 - Word Classes 2–Total
 - Word Definitions
 - Concepts & Following Directions
 - Word Structure
- Semi-structured interview adapted from Hopkins et al, 2016.
- Background information to be collated (if available):
 - Age
 - Previous/current SLT intervention. If a YP is already known to NHS SLT services in Polmont YOI, then SLT staff will be consulted and relevant information will be taken into account
 - Education level
 - Length of sentence
 - Reason for most recent segregation situation
 - Previous looked-after experience

Results of Assessment

- Results of quantitative and qualitative assessments will be analysed and a report generated summarising key findings
- Feedback will be given to the YP regarding their communication skills
- Recommendations will be made regarding YP's future support needs specifically addressing increased opportunities for participation in case

conferences and Positive Futures plan, e.g., by means of visual support, modification of staff's use of language

- This information will be shared with appropriate staff, e.g. Prison Governor, Prison Officers, other AHPs and advice given on how to best support the YP's individual needs.

Timescale

- Research to take place onsite at Polmont YOI one day per week, June 2016 – December 2016
 - It is intended that DF and AC will visit to assess YP on a weekly basis as opportunity arises to do so.

ETHICAL ISSUES AND PROJECT MANAGEMENT

- Ethical approval will be gained from the NHS, Forth Valley R&D, Queen Margaret University Research Ethics Committee and the Scottish Prison Service
 - Quantitative and qualitative assessments will be audio-recorded with YP consent
 - Data will remain within Polmont YOI, so it is expected that researchers will carry out analysis on site
 - All data and research material arising from the study will be dealt with on an anonymous, unattributable and confidential basis.
 - No individual will be named or identified.
 - Researchers will comply with the Data Protection Act (1998).
- All participants will give voluntary written consent and on the day, oral consent, and will be informed of the purpose of the study, use of the data, that the project is funded by QMU, and the identity of the interviewer.
- All research data and materials, assessment results, interview notes, recordings, transcripts, reports, documents and consent forms will be the property of the Crown .
- Data will be held for a maximum of 60 months on completion of the research and destroyed thereafter.

RELEVANT TRAINING

Both researchers are qualified Speech and Language Therapists, members of RCSLT and HCPC.

- Both researchers will undergo SPS Personal Protection Training in March 2016
- Both researchers are members of the Protecting Vulnerable Groups (PVG) Scheme

LONGER-TERM SUSTAINABILITY

Services should provide every YP with support tailored to their individual needs. It is likely for a significant number of YP that their needs will include support for their communication. A key aim of the project is to provide tools to identify YPs' communication needs and make recommendations for support on an individual basis.

This project will complement the current NHS SLT service in Polmont YOI. Assessment findings and recommendations will be shared with SLTs and relevant prison staff.

Work will be carried out during the project:

- to provide additional resources to support understanding of and engagement with the Positive Futures Plan framework
- to provide case studies for dissemination within the SPS
- to support the SPS staff in future management of the prisoners
- to deliver training to relevant staff about:
 - importance of identifying and addressing communication support needs

APPENDIX B: NHS RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE FAVOURABLE OPINION LETTER

WoSRES
West of Scotland Research Ethics Service



West of Scotland REC 3
West of Scotland Research Ethics Service
West Glasgow Ambulatory Care Hospital
(former Royal Hospital for Sick Children Yorkhill)
Dalnair Street
Glasgow G3 8SW
www.nhsggc.org.uk

Mr D Fitzsimons
Assistant Lecturer/PhD Researcher
Queen Margaret University
Clinical Audiology Speech and Language
Research Centre
Musselburgh
EH21 6UU

Date 13th July 2016
Your Ref
Our Ref
Direct line 0141 232 1805
E-mail WOSREC3@ggc.scot.nhs.uk

Dear Mr Fitzsimons

Study title:	Young Offenders, Segregation and Communication Support Needs
REC reference:	16/WS/0131
IRAS project ID:	209939

Thank you for responding to the Committee's request for further information on the above research and submitting revised documentation. This was received on 11th July 2016.

The further information has been considered on behalf of the Committee by the Alternate Vice Chair.

We plan to publish your research summary wording for the above study on the HRA website, together with your contact details. Publication will be no earlier than three months from the date of this opinion letter. Should you wish to provide a substitute contact point, require further information, or wish to make a request to postpone publication, please contact the REC Manager, Mrs Liz Jamieson, wosrec3@ggc.scot.nhs.uk.

Confirmation of ethical opinion

On behalf of the Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the application form, protocol and supporting documentation as revised, subject to the conditions specified below.

Conditions of the favourable opinion

The REC favourable opinion is subject to the following conditions being met prior to the start of the study.

Management permission must be obtained from each host organisation prior to the start of the study at the site concerned.

Management permission should be sought from all NHS organisations involved in the study in accordance with NHS research governance arrangements. Each NHS organisation must confirm through the signing of agreements and/or other documents that it has given permission for the research to proceed (except where explicitly specified otherwise).

Guidance on applying for NHS permission for research is available in the Integrated Research Application System, www.hra.nhs.uk or at <http://www.rdforum.nhs.uk>.

Where a NHS organisation's role in the study is limited to identifying and referring potential participants to research sites ("participant identification centre"), guidance should be sought from the R&D office on the information it requires to give permission for this activity.

For non-NHS sites, site management permission should be obtained in accordance with the procedures of the relevant host organisation.

Sponsors are not required to notify the Committee of management permissions from host organisations

Ethical review of research sites

The favourable opinion applies to all NHS sites taking part in the study, subject to management permission being obtained from the NHS/HSC R&D office prior to the start of the study (see "Conditions of the favourable opinion" below).

Approved documents

The final list of documents reviewed and approved by the Committee is as follows:

<i>Document</i>	<i>Version</i>	<i>Date</i>
Covering letter on headed paper [IRAS Headed Covering letter]		09 June 2016
Evidence of Sponsor insurance or indemnity (non NHS Sponsors only) [Sponsor - Indemnity]		09 June 2016
GP/consultant information sheets or letters [YOSCSN GP Letter]	1.1	05 July 2016
Interview schedules or topic guides for participants [YOSCSN Interview Schedule]	1.1	05 July 2016
Letter from funder [QMU Funding Letter]	1.0	08 June 2016
Letter from sponsor [QMU Funding Letter]	1.0	08 June 2016
Letter from statistician [Statistician Letter]	1.0	09 June 2016
Letters of invitation to participant [YOSCSN Invitation]	1.1	05 July 2016
Other [Summary of Research for A6-1]		11 July 2016
Participant consent form [YOSCSN Consent]	1.1	05 July 2016
Participant information sheet (PIS) [YOSCSN Participant Info Sheet]	1.2	11 July 2016
REC Application Form [REC_Form_10062016]		10 June 2016
Research protocol or project proposal [YOSCSN Research Proposal]	1.4	05 July 2016
Summary CV for Chief Investigator (CI) [CI CV]		24 May 2016
Summary CV for supervisor (student research) [Summary CV - Dr Ann Clark]		

Statement of compliance

The Committee is constituted in accordance with the Governance Arrangements for Research Ethics Committees and complies fully with the Standard Operating Procedures for Research Ethics Committees in the UK.

After ethical review

Reporting requirements

The attached document "*After ethical review – guidance for researchers*" gives detailed guidance on reporting requirements for studies with a favourable opinion, including:

- Notifying substantial amendments
- Adding new sites and investigators
- Notification of serious breaches of the protocol
- Progress and safety reports
- Notifying the end of the study

The HRA website also provides guidance on these topics, which is updated in the light of changes in reporting requirements or procedures.

User Feedback

The Health Research Authority is continually striving to provide a high quality service to all applicants and sponsors. You are invited to give your view of the service you have received and the application procedure. If you wish to make your views known please use the feedback form available on the HRA website: <http://www.hra.nhs.uk/about-the-hra/governance/quality-assurance/>

HRA Training

We are pleased to welcome researchers and R&D staff at our training days – see details at <http://www.hra.nhs.uk/hra-training/>

16/WS/0131

Please quote this number on all correspondence

With the Committee's best wishes for the success of this project.

Yours sincerely



Liz Jamieson
REC Manager
On behalf of Mrs Rosie Rutherford, Alternate Vice Chair

Enclosures: "After ethical review – guidance for researchers"

Copy to: Dr F Coutts, Queen Margaret University
Allyson Bailey, NHS Forth Valley

APPENDIX C: QMU ETHICAL APPROVAL FORM

QMU Research Ethics application version2.1.1



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

For Office Use Only

Ref. Number	
Assigned Reviewers	
Outcome	<input type="checkbox"/> Granted <input type="checkbox"/> Amendments <input type="checkbox"/> Rejected

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL FOR A RESEARCH PROJECT

This is an application form for ethical approval to undertake a piece of research. Ethical approval must be gained for any piece of research to be undertaken by any student or member of staff of QMU. Approval must also be gained by any external researcher who wishes to use Queen Margaret students or staff as participants in their research.

Please note, before any requests for volunteers can be distributed, through the moderator service, or externally, this form MUST be submitted (completed, with signatures) to the Secretary to the Research Ethics Panel (ResearchEthics@qmu.ac.uk).

You should read QMU's chapter on "Research Ethics: Regulations, Procedures, and Guidelines" before completing the form. This is available at:
<http://www.qmu.ac.uk/quality/rs/default.htm>

The person who completes this form (the applicant) will normally be the Principal Investigator (in the case of staff research) or the student (in the case of student research). In other cases of collaborative research, e.g. an undergraduate group project, one member should be given responsibility for applying for ethical approval. For class exercises involving research, the module coordinator should complete the application and secure approval.

The completed form **should be typed** rather than handwritten. **Electronic signatures** should be used and the form should be **submitted electronically**.

Checklist: Documents enclosed with application:

Please note that any application with missing relevant documentation will be returned to the applicant.

Enclosed (please tick)	Not applicable (please tick)	Document name
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Research protocol or proposal
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Participant Information Sheet(s) (PIS)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Participant consent form(s)
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Copies of recruitment advertisement material
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Sample questionnaires (please detail below)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Interview schedules or topic guides
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Letter(s) of support from any external organisations involved in the research
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	If interacting with potentially vulnerable groups, please provide the following information for checks by authorised personnel: PVG ¹ Membership No: 1305 1621 7408 0370 Disclosure Number (unique to each certificate): 200000001356780 Date of issue: 16/05/2013
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Risk assessment documentation – see end
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Any other documentation (please detail below) • NHS REC Favourable Opinion Letter

¹ Protecting Vulnerable Groups – This membership scheme was introduced by the Scottish Government to improve disclosure arrangements for people who work with vulnerable groups. When you provide us with the certificate identification number for your PVG status, only authorised countersignatories for this scheme within the university will have access to your PVG records. The Research Ethics Panel and assigned reviewers will not have access or knowledge of your PVG records. Please be aware that if you are barred from working with the research population in your research application, and the PVG countersignatories have been made aware of your application, processes for Fitness to Practice will be triggered within the university.

Section A: Applicant details**A1. Researcher's name:**

- a. Post: PhD Researcher
- b. Qualifications:
 - i. PGDip Speech and Language Therapy (with distinction)
 - ii. MRes (pass)
 - iii. BA (Joint Hons) Psychology and Russian
- c. Contact email: dfitzsimons@qmu.ac.uk

A2. Category of researcher (please tick and enter title of programme of study as appropriate):

<input type="checkbox"/>	QMU undergraduate student Title of programme:
<input type="checkbox"/>	QMU postgraduate student – taught degree Title of programme:
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	QMU postgraduate student – research degree
<input type="checkbox"/>	QMU staff member – research degree
<input type="checkbox"/>	QMU staff member – other research
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other (please specify) Details:

A3. School: School of Health Sciences**A4. Division:** Speech and Hearing Sciences**A5. Subject area:** Speech and Hearing Sciences**A6. Name of Supervisor or Director of Studies (if applicable):** Dr Ann Clark**A7. Names and affiliations of all other researchers who will be working on the project:**

First name	Last name	Position	Affiliation	Role on project

Section B: Research details

B1. Title of study: Young Offenders, Segregation and Communication Support Needs

B2. Expected start date: 01/06/16

B3. Expected end date: 01/12/16

B4. Protocol or proposal version: QMUPOL_20160803_01
(please follow naming format – short_title_yyyymmdd_version_number)

B5. Protocol date: 13/07/16

B6. Details of any grants/funding/financial support for the project from within/outside QMU:
N/A

B7. Do you plan at any stage of the project to undertake research involving adults lacking capacity to consent for themselves?
☐ Yes ☒ No

Answer Yes if you plan to recruit living participants aged 16 or over who lack capacity, or to retain them in the study following loss of capacity. If you answered yes, please refer to the online training module by University of Leicester and University of Bristol on 'Adults lacking capacity to consent for research' for further information:

<https://connect.le.ac.uk/alctoolkit/>

Your research may require approval by an authorised Research Ethics Committee (e.g. NHS Research Ethics Committee). If in doubt, please contact QMU Research Ethics Panel for further advice (ResearchEthics@qmu.ac.uk).

B8. Do you plan to include any participants who are children?
☐ Yes ☒ No

Answer Yes if you plan to recruit participants aged under 16. Please also ensure that question F6 is answered.

B9. Do you plan at any stage of the project to work with human tissue samples (or other human biological samples) and data?
☐ Yes ☒ No

If you answered Yes to question B9, please also ensure that Section G is completed. To obtain a copy of Section G, please email ResearchEthics@qmu.ac.uk.

Section C: Overview of the research

C1. Summary of the study.

Please provide a brief summary of the research (maximum 300 words) **using language easily understood by lay reviewers and members of the public.** Please note that this summary may be published in the public domain.

This project has two aims:

1. to determine (by use of formal language assessment) language and communication abilities of young men who have been recently placed in the segregation unit of HMYOI Polmont by use of standardized language assessment;
2. to determine (through interview) the views of the young men themselves about their own communication skills.

While there is firm evidence that a significant proportion of young offenders have communication and language difficulties, little work has been done on establishing the views of this group about their own language/communication skills. This study aims to address this gap in the literature by describing the language/communication skills and views of this group and using the results to: offer participants insights into their own language and communication abilities; to inform staff training in this area and enhance language and communication support for this group.

Participants are young men aged 16-21 with English as a first language who are currently incarcerated at Polmont HMYOI and who have been in the segregation unit there within the two months prior to involvement with the study. This project is funded by Queen Margaret University. All assessments and interviews will take place onsite at HMYOI Polmont. The study will last from June- December 2016.

C2. Summary of main issues.

Why this study?

This feasibility study is being undertaken for two reasons:

1. Over the last decade, the severity and prevalence of communication support needs within the overall young offender population has been described and a picture of language ability and subsequent clinical need has been established, with 60-90% of incarcerated young people having some form of speech, language and communication needs (Bryan et al. 2004, 2007 - 1, 2; Gregory et al. 2015 - 1, 2, 3). This information has been gathered largely by means of administration of formal, standardized language and communication assessments. Within the young offender population, there is a unique sub-group of young men who experience temporary removal from the main prison population. These young men are also likely to have heightened levels of communication support needs which may have contributed to violent behaviour and in turn, removal from the main prison group into segregation. As yet, the communication support needs of this sub-group have not been reported in the academic literature. This study will address that gap.

Also missing from the research literature so far is a crucial point of triangulation – the views of the young men themselves about their own communication history, interactions and abilities. Our research questions have been formulated primarily to provide this triangulated view of the young men's communication levels and views on their own abilities and needs. This study also will investigate associations between these views and objective formal, standardized measures of their language abilities. There is no published evidence in the academic literature on the views of incarcerated young offenders of their communication skills. This study will investigate these issues within this sub-group and explore the feasibility of extending this qualitative research into the other incarcerated sub-groups, for example, young female prisoners or sex offenders.

2. This sub-group has been identified as a key priority by the Scottish Prison Service as part of their anti-violence strategy, which aims to support male young offenders in dealing with their frustration and anger as a contributory factor to violent behaviour.

Why this participant group?:

The participant group for this feasibility study is young men who have been recently accommodated within Duneedin Unit (the segregation unit) of Polmont HMYOI up to two months prior to assessment. This group of participants is of interest because they do not feature within the field research evidence to date, despite a possibility that they may be exhibiting a high level of need for communication support.

Involved parties:

In designing this feasibility study, we have solicited views and advice from professional colleagues within relevant areas. The research proposal has been developed primarily by Chief Investigator Dermot Fitzsimons, SLT and Dr Ann Clark, SLT, with input from a number of individuals within the fields of healthcare, prison and academia:

- Jan Green, SLT at Polmont HMYOI and NHS Forth Valley; Anne-Marie Irving, SLT Manager NHS Forth Valley; (initial discussion of research topic areas; refinement of research questions, advice on necessary contracts and permissions)
- Sue Brookes, Governor of Polmont Prison and Dr James Carnie, Head of Research and Development in SPS (discussion of aims of study and aligning these to SPS objectives)
- Darline Reekie and Jackie McKeich, Healthcare Managers at Polmont HMYOI (advice on establishing capacity of participants, initial consent and recruitment, maintaining line of communication between YOI and researchers)
- Dr Robert Rush, Reader, Queen Margaret University (refinement of research questions, advice on sample sizes and statistical approach, methodology)

Recruitment:

In the first instance, healthcare professionals within the YOI will establish a first point of contact to the young men once they leave the segregation unit and go back into the main residential population. It has been agreed with prison staff that the researchers will be present at the prison for one day a week.

It is healthcare staff who will assess and confirm capacity to take part in this study. They will make arrangements to meet with potential participants, who will be met, and upon establishing consent to the study, will be assessed on the weekly visit by the researchers.

It is envisaged that recruitment and assessment/interview will then proceed on a rolling basis in these weekly visits.

Materials:

Recruitment materials have been designed in a communication-accessible format in consultation with Jan Green SLT, and emphasize that:

- the researchers are not employed by the prison;
- that voluntary consent will be discussed and agreed before each session of assessment and interview;
- participants are free to withdraw at any time without repercussions.

No reward or other inducements will be offered for participation. There is no intervention component to this feasibility study, so recruitment materials make it clear that benefits may be minor for the participant and may be limited to being able to talk about any concerns they have about their communication abilities and find out more information about their communication strengths and difficulties. It also is made clear to participants that if appropriate, they will be referred to local NHS SLT services.

Confidentiality/Dislosures:

Due to the circumstances of this participant group and the nature of the questions, it is possible that confidential information on past illegal/sensitive behaviours may be disclosed. Participants will be informed that they are free to answer the questions as they wish but disclosures of illegal/sensitive behaviour will be passed on to the Scottish Prison Service to investigate.

Sustainability at the end of study:

- All participants will have a discussion/debriefing session if desired, where their standardized assessment results will be discussed in terms of strengths and difficulties
- Assessment results will be fed back to healthcare and personal officers with an information session on the main findings of the study on the strengths and difficulties of the cohort
- Referral will be made to SLT services if appropriate
- Training will be given to healthcare and prison staff on support and techniques to support the communication support needs of the participant group
- Anonymised case study information will be compiled for use by the SPS as requested
- Data compiled will inform planning on larger-scale communication support intervention study

Conflict of Interest: No conflict of interest between healthcare and research roles has been identified.

1. Bryan, K. (2004). Preliminary study of the prevalence of speech and language difficulties in young offenders. *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 39(3), 391-400.
2. Bryan, K., Freer, J., & Furlong, C. (2007). Language and communication difficulties in juvenile offenders. *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 42(5), 505-520.
3. Gregory, J., & Bryan, K. (2015). Speech and language therapy intervention with a group of persistent and prolific young offenders in a non-custodial setting with previously undiagnosed speech, language and communication difficulties. *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 1-14

C3. What is the principal research question/objective/aim?

Please put this in language comprehensible to a lay person.

The principal aim of this feasibility study is to estimate recruitment / retention of participants in planning for a future larger-scale study.

C4. What are the secondary research questions/objectives/aims if applicable?

Please put this in language comprehensible to a lay person.

- 1. What is the nature of the language abilities of the young people (YP) in Dunedin Unit?*
- 2. What do the YP think of their understanding of others, their own literacy and expressive language abilities, and how important do they think these are?*
- 3. How satisfied are the YP with their communication with others and how has this influenced interactions at home, in school, and in the youth justice system?*
- 4. What do they think their short-term, immediate CSN are within the prison setting?*
- 5. What do they think their long-term CSN are likely to be when transitioning into the community?*

C5. What is the academic/scientific justification for the research?

Please put this in language comprehensible to a lay person.

This feasibility study intends to:

1. Establish the communication profile of incarcerated young men who have been placed in segregation, away from the main prison population, either for their own or others' safety; the intention is to provide a triangulated perspective on their communication abilities by the use of both standardized assessment to provide a comparison to typical abilities, and an interview/qualitative approach to examine the views of the young men themselves on their communication abilities and needs. The language and communication abilities of this sub-group – segregated incarcerated young men – has not been examined in the existing research literature and it is envisaged that the findings of this study will further inform detailed research projects around associations between segregation status and language/communication abilities

2. Establish parameters for the design of further research projects into this area:

- set-up of channels of communication between researchers and prison staff in setting up a study of this kind with this specific sub-group of participants
- establish willingness of clinicians and other healthcare staff within the prison to recruit participants
- establish willingness for participation by this sub-group
- establish effectiveness of conducting qualitative, interview-based research methods within the YOI setting, in contrast to e.g., Youth Offending Teams in the community or other community outreach programmes

The research will provide new information on two fronts:

1. Quantitative data describing the language abilities of young people in segregation
2. A detailed qualitative account of the communication support needs of segregated young people from the perspective of those young people themselves. This perspective is missing from the existing literature on this topic and it is envisaged that it will provide new insight into the reasons and motivations behind the behaviours that led to being segregated, and also inform interventions and training of staff.

While research has been carried out examining the communication support needs of participants within young offender institutions (Bryan et al, 2004, 2007 - 1, 2; Sanger et al, 2001, 2006 - 3, 4; Humber and Snow, 2001 - 5; Games et al, 2012 - 6) where samples have been derived from the general institutional population, to the researchers' knowledge, no research has been carried out specifically targeting communication abilities and communication support needs of young men who have experienced segregation from the general incarcerated young offending population.

- 1 - Bryan, K., 2004. Preliminary study of the prevalence of speech and language difficulties in young offenders. *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 39(3), pp.391-400.
- 2 - Bryan, K., Freer, J. and Furlong, C., 2007. Language and communication difficulties in juvenile offenders. *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders*, 42(5), pp.505-520.
- 3 - Sanger, D., Moore-Brown, B., Magnuson, G. and Svoboda, N., 2001. Prevalence of Language Problems Among Adolescent Delinquents. *A Closer Look. Communication Disorders Quarterly*, 23(1), pp.17-26.
- 4 - Sanger, D., Maag, J.W. and Spilker, A., 2006. Communication and behavioral considerations in planning programs for female juvenile delinquents. *Journal of Correctional Education*, pp.108-125.
- 5 - Humber, E. and Snow, P.C., 2001. The oral language skills of young offenders: a pilot investigation. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 8(1), pp.1-11.
- 6 - Games, F., Curran, A. and Porter, S., 2012. A small-scale pilot study into language difficulties in children who offend. *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 28(2), pp.127-140.

Section D: Design and Methodology**D1.** Research procedures to be used: *please tick all that apply.*

Tick if applicable	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Questionnaires (<i>please attach copies of all questionnaires to be used</i>)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Interviews (<i>please attach summary of topics or interview schedule to be explored</i>)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Focus groups (<i>please attach summary of topics or interview schedule to be explored / copies of materials to be used</i>)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Experimental / Laboratory techniques (<i>please include full details under question D2</i>)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Use of email / internet as a means of data collection (<i>please include full details under question D2</i>)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Use of materials that are subject to copyright (<i>please include full details under question D2 and confirm that the materials have been / will be purchased for your use</i>)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Use of biomedical procedures to obtain human tissues (or other biological materials) (<i>please include full details under question D2 and Section G. Also include subject area risk assessment forms, where appropriate</i>)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other technique / procedure (<i>please include full details under question D2</i>)

D2. Please summarise your design and methodology.

It should be clear exactly what will happen to the research participant for research involving human participants. Please complete this section in language comprehensible to the lay person. Do not simply reproduce or refer to the protocol.

Sampling and Identification: A purposive sample of young men who are currently within Polmont HMYOI and have been placed within the segregation unit (Dunedin) within the previous two months, aged 16-21, male. The maximum number the unit can accommodate is 14. The sample size will depend on the number of young men in the unit within the recruitment period of six months.

Recruitment: Recruitment will be carried out on a rolling basis over the six-month period.

Response Rates: Prison staff have advised that they are confident that the majority of young men will consent to take part in the research.

Validation of tools/assessments: Using 2 instruments: 1 standardised language assessment and 1 semi-structured interview framework:

1. CELF-4 Core Language Subtests - a standardised instrument

2. Semi-structured interview schedule based on that of Hopkins, Clegg and Stackhouse (2015)

These questions were previously used with a sample of young people on community orders in England aged 13-18, the majority of whom were male. For the current research, these questions have been adapted for use with this specific sub-group in HMYOI Polmont.

D3. Does your research include the use of people as participants?

☒ Yes ☐ No

Answer No if your project involves secondary analysis of collected data.

If you answered Yes to question D3, please ensure that Section F is completed.

D4. Does your research include the experimental use of live animals?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If you answered Yes to question D4, please note that the university is not insured to experiment on live animals. Please attach the insurance coverage certificate to this application for review. Please check and ensure that appropriate university insurance is in place to cover the work. If in doubt, please contact Karen Sinclair (Head of Finance, ksinclair@qmu.ac.uk) on insurance coverage.

D5. Does your research involve experimenting on plant or animal matter, or inorganic matter?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If you answered Yes to question D5, please check and ensure that appropriate university insurance is in place to cover the work. If in doubt, please contact Karen Sinclair (Head of Finance, ksinclair@qmu.ac.uk) on insurance coverage. Please attach the insurance coverage certificate to this application for review.

D6. Does your research include the analysis of documents, or of material in non-print media, other than those which are freely available for public access?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If you answered 'Yes' to Question D6, give a description of the material you intend to use. Describe its ownership, your rights of access to it, the permissions required to access it and any ways in which personal identities might be revealed or personal information might be disclosed. Describe any measures you will take to safeguard the anonymity of sources, where this is relevant:

This text box will expand as required.

D7. Will any restriction be placed on the publication of results?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If you answered 'Yes' to question D7, give details and provide a reasoned justification for the restrictions. (See Research Ethics Guidelines Section 2, paragraph 7)

This text box will expand as required.

D8. Who will have access to participants' personal data during the study?

Where access is by individuals outside the research team or direct care team (health research), please justify and say whether consent will be sought.

Only the researchers will have access to participants' consent forms, recordings, notes pertaining to participant interviews and assessment sheets.

D9. How long will personal or personally identifiable data be stored or accessed after the study has ended?

Please note this question only relates to retention of personal or personally identifiable data.

- ☐ Less than 3 months
☐ 3 – 6 months
☐ 6 - 12 months
☐ 12 months – 3 years
☒ Over 3 years

*It is recommended that data containing personal details that would lead to the identification of participants should be destroyed **as soon as possible**. Examples of personally identifiable data include participants' email addresses, NHS/CHI numbers, expressions of interest etc., BUT NOT consent forms. Personally identifiable data should be stored separate from the anonymised data to prevent linkage. If potential participants have provided you with their contact details, this information should only be retained until they have consented or refused to participate in the research. However, if a participant noted that they would like to receive a summary of the research, it would be appropriate to retain their contact details until this summary has been sent out.*

See the following for advice on data handling:

http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/shm/study/doctoral_study/dclipsy/onlinehandbook/ethics_and_data_storage_advice/

D10. For how long will you store research data generated by the study? *State if the data will be stored for an infinite time period.*

Years: 5

Months 0:

More information: Scottish Prison Service stipulates that data generated by the study can be stored for a maximum of 5 years. After this period, all data - consent forms, recordings, assessment sheets, notes - will be destroyed.

D11. Please give details of the short term (duration of project) and long term (after project completion) arrangements for storage of research data after the study has ended. (See Research Ethics Guidelines has Section 1, paragraph 2.4.1)

Short term storage of research data on any of the following:

- ☒ Manual files (includes paper or film)
- ☐ Home or other personal computers
- ☒ University computers/server
- ☒ Laptop computers
- ☐ Hard drive storage
- ☐ USB storage devices
- ☐ Other portable storage (e.g. CDs, DVDs etc.)
- ☐ Cloud/online storage (please provide name and server location of cloud storage below)
- ☐ Others (please state):

Say where data will be stored, who will have access and the arrangements to ensure security (for example, encryption used). Explain how and when data will be destroyed (if applicable).

All audio recordings will be stored on a laptop with installed data key encryption. The laptop will be stored in a secure, locked cabinet on Queen Margaret University premises within the Speech and Hearing Sciences division. Manual files (interview notes, interview transcripts and assessment scoresheets) will be stored in a locked cabinet on Queen Margaret University premises within the Speech and Hearing Sciences division, and will not be removed from the premises. Only the researchers will have access to the key to the secure cabinet.

Long term storage of research data on any of the following:

- ☒ Manual files (includes paper or film)
- ☐ Home or other personal computers
- ☒ University computers/server
- ☒ Laptop computers
- ☐ Hard drive storage
- ☐ USB storage devices
- ☐ Other portable storage (e.g. CDs, DVDs etc.)
- ☐ Cloud/online storage (please provide name and server location of cloud storage below)
- ☐ eData – QMU open access data repository
- ☐ Others (please state):

Say where data will be stored, who will have access and the arrangements to ensure security (for example, encryption used). Explain how and when data will be destroyed (if applicable).

Anonymised data will be archived at Queen Margaret University for 5 years. The data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and in a password protected secure online server. The researchers only will have access to the data.

D12. Will the data be stored:

- ☐ In fully anonymised form? (link to participant broken)
- ☐ In linked anonymised form? (linked to data but participant not identifiable to researchers)
If Yes, say who will have access to the code and personal information about the participant:

- ☒ In a form in which the participant could be identifiable to researchers?
If Yes, please justify.

Given nature of research – audio recording and standardised assessment, recorded voice data may make participant identifiable. Personal identifiable information will not be stored at QMU. Only a code number will be used to link all data to participant. Coded list is held offsite at Polmont HMYOL.

D13. Who will have control of and act as the custodian for the data generated by the study?

Dr Ann Clark.

D14. Will the research participants receive any payments, reimbursements of expenses or any other benefits or incentives for taking part in this research?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If Yes, please give details.

This text box will expand as required.

D15. Will individual researchers receive any personal payment over and above normal salary, or any other benefits or incentives, for taking part in this research?

This question is concerned with "in pocket" financial payments or additional benefits to be provided direct to researchers personally, over and above the costs of conducting the research.

☐ Yes ☒ No

If Yes, please give details.

This text box will expand as required.

Section E: Risks and benefits

E1. Give details of all procedure(s) or intervention(s) that will be received by participants as part of the research protocol?

These include seeking consent, interviews, observations and use of questionnaires.

Please complete the columns for each procedure/intervention as follows:

1. Total number of procedures/interventions to be received by each participant as part of protocol.
2. Average time taken per procedure/intervention (minutes, hours or days)
3. Details of who will conduct the procedure/intervention, and where will it take place.

<i>Procedure or intervention</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
Interview	1	30-45m	Dermot Fitzsimons/Ann Clark
CELF Language Assessment 1	1	15-20m	Dermot Fitzsimons/Ann Clark
CELF Language Assessment 2	1	15-20m	Dermot Fitzsimons/Ann Clark
CELF Language Assessment 3	1	15-20m	Dermot Fitzsimons/Ann Clark
CELF Language Assessment 4	1	15-20m	Dermot Fitzsimons/Ann Clark

E2. How long do you expect each participant to be in the study in total?

Duration of participation should be calculated from when participants give informed consent until their last contact with the research team.

2-4 weeks, ie all assessments will be administered in close succession, ie language assessment and interview are expected to take 2-3 visits, with debrief if requested requiring an additional session.

E3. What are the potential risks and burdens for research participants and how will you minimise them?

For all studies, describe any potential adverse effects, pain, discomfort, distress, intrusion, inconvenience or changes to lifestyle. Only describe risks or burdens that could occur as a result of participation in the research. Say what steps would be taken to minimise risks and burdens as far as possible.

Where the research only involves the use of data, consideration should still be given to the risks for participants associated with any breach of confidence or failure to maintain data security.

1. Inconvenience of interrupting participant's established routines within the institution. Participants will be assured in writing and verbally on repeated occasions (at initial meeting, at assessment sessions) that they are under no obligation to take part and can withdraw at any time.

2. Participant confidentiality - potential risk of loss of confidentiality due to possible presence of prison staff during assessment sessions. To minimise this risk, the researcher will remind any prison staff in the room that information disclosed (unless of a criminal nature) is confidential. Staff are bound by prison confidentiality guidelines.

3. Psychological reaction to process of assessment - participant may have historical performance issues with assessment leading to negative reactions in terms of self-esteem or self-image. To minimise risk, reassurance and positive encouragement will be given to the participant before, during and after the assessment process; participant will be reminded of the potential personal benefits of participation in the study; participant will be reminded of the value of their contribution to the project.

4. Participant may interpret involvement in the project as a means of "solving" existing difficulties - participants will receive feedback on the results of their assessments and will be informed that, if necessary, they will be referred to Speech and Language Therapy services.

5. Psychological reaction to results and their interpretation: risk of negative reaction to discussion on strengths and difficulties and/or risk of lack of understanding by participant of interpretation of results - the significance of results must not be overstated. Participants will be informed that formal standardized language assessment results are an indicator/screen of strengths or difficulties and not a diagnostic tool. Participants will be reminded that if they wish, they can be referred to Speech and Language Therapy services for further assessment. Results will be explained in an accessible format at a language level in keeping with prior observations of participant's abilities.

E4. Will interviews/ questionnaires or group discussions include topics that might be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting, or is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action could occur during the study?

☒ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not applicable

If Yes, please give details of procedures in place to deal with these issues:

Although participants are not questioned about offending behaviour or directly related issues, in working with a prisoner population there is always the possibility of criminal disclosure. If this occurs the researcher will follow Scottish Prison Service protocol for submitting an intelligence report. This will be highlighted in advance in the participant information, and repeatedly to the participant at the initial information briefing and before the interview session.

E5. What is the potential for benefit to research participants?

You should state here any potential benefits to be gained by the research participant through taking part in the research either now or in future. However, do not over-emphasise the benefits. In some cases there may be no apparent benefit.

If signs of communication support needs are detected and the participant has agreed for these results to be shared, support and intervention strategies will be formed in conjunction with HMYOI Polmont. Health staff will be encouraged to make contact with the Speech and Language Therapy Department to make a referral, or if participants require information or support.

Other than this, there is no direct benefit to individuals to participating in the research.

Potential for indirect benefit:

- more detailed communication profile, leading to opportunity for tailored intervention from SLT*
- information about individual's communication and language abilities can be disseminated to other staff, in turn increasing their knowledge of participant's language/communication strengths and difficulties*
- opportunity for participant to have greater personal insight into areas of difficulty*
- opportunity for participant to reflect on and recognise areas of need arising from difficulty*
- providing participant with opportunity for reflection and discussion of needs with non-prison personnel*

E6. Will the researcher be at risk of sustaining either physical or psychological harm as a result of the research? *Please delete as appropriate.*

☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answered 'Yes' to the question E6, please give details of potential risks and the precautions which will be taken to protect the researcher.

Working with prisoners presents increased risk to personal safety. The researchers received Induction and Personal Protection Training on 17-18/3/2016, which is specialist training from the Scottish Prison Service in this area. Prisoners assessed as unsafe are excluded from the study. The researchers will wear a networked personal alarm and will be located in an area staffed with prison officers.

Section F: Research Involving Human Participants

You should only complete this section if you have indicated above that your research will involve human participants.

F1. Please indicate the total number of participants you intend to recruit for this study from each participant group:

Participant Group	Please state total number
QMU students	
QMU staff	
Members of the public from outside QMU	
NHS patients	
NHS employees	
Children (under 16 years of age)	
People in custody	30
People with communication or learning difficulties	
People with mental health issues	
People engaged in illegal activities (eg. illegal drug use)	
Other (please specify):	

* Please declare in Question F8 where the participant group may necessitate the need for standard or enhanced disclosure check

F2. How was this participant number decided upon? If a formal sample size calculation was used, indicate how this was done, giving sufficient information to justify and reproduce the calculation. If another method of determining participant numbers was used, please provide sufficient details for the method and justify the decision.

HMYPOL Polmont is designed to hold a population of 760 with an average at one time of 520. In any one month, there are 14 young men within Dunedin segregation Unit. A target community sample of 30 participants was identified as a convenience sample appropriate for this feasibility study. This feasibility study is proposing to collect data on outcomes that may be used to inform a future large-scale study. With a sample size of 30, we will be able to estimate a drop-out rate of 60%, 70% and 80% to within a 95% confidence interval of approximately +/- 18%, 16% and 14% respectively. Also two papers which discuss how large a study you need to estimate a standard deviation, (CELf), for a sample size calculation are by Sim & Lewis (1 - see below), who recommend at least 50 participants, and Julious (2 - see below), who recommends 24. Thus our figure of 30 for this feasibility study is within this window of 24 to 50. By recruiting a sample of 30 participants we will be able to decide on the practical issues of conducting the study and for estimating the standard deviation of the continuous CELF outcome with reasonable precision. Such a number would provide estimates of the completion rates and retention rates that would assist in planning the recruitment for a future study.

1. Sim J, Lewis M. The size of a pilot study for a clinical trial should be calculated in relation to considerations of precision and efficiency. *J Clin Epidemiol* 2012;65:301-308
2. Julious SA. Sample size of 12 per group rule of thumb for a pilot study. *Pharm Stat* 2005;4:287-291

F3. Please state the inclusion and exclusion criteria to be used. (See Research Ethics Guidelines Section 1, paragraph 2.4)

Inclusion criteria:

1. Male
2. Aged between 16-21
3. Has English as a first language
4. At HMYOI Polmont and accommodated within Dunedin Unit (segregation) of HMYOI Polmont within 2 months of assessment
5. Able to give consent to participate in the study
6. Able to see contents of standardised assessment materials
7. Able to hear verbal instructions/questions as part of standardised assessment and interview
8. Willing to give their views about their communication skills
9. Assessed as presenting low risk of personal danger to those around him

Exclusion criteria:

1. Unable to give consent
2. Does not have English as a first language
3. Cognitively unable to take part in assessments
4. Unable to see contents of standardised assessment materials
5. Unable to hear verbal instructions/questions as part of standardised assessment and interview
6. Assessed by healthcare staff as an immediate danger to personal safety of those around him
7. Unwilling to give their views about their communication skills

F4. Will you obtain informed consent from or on behalf of research participants?

☒ Yes ☐ No

F5. Please give details of who will take consent and how it will be done, with details of any steps to provide information (a written information sheet, videos, or interactive material).
If you plan to include any participants who are children, please describe the arrangements for seeking informed consent from a person with responsibility and/or from children able to give consent for themselves.

Participants will comprise a purposive sample. HMYOI Polmont Health Centre staff will identify potential participants meeting the study's inclusion criteria.

Healthcare staff, and not the researcher, make the initial approach to participants due to the sensitive nature of their circumstances. It is not ethically justifiable for researchers to know the names of the participants before they give initial consent for their names to be supplied. Researchers will supply to healthcare staff proforma letters of invitation to potential participants with name and date to be filled in.

Thus, healthcare staff are responsible for identifying participants; having identified potential participants meeting inclusion criteria who have left Dunedin Unit in the previous 2 month period, staff will supply names and date on the letter and send to potential participant. The proforma letter will explain the purpose of the study, describing participant involvement, and inviting them to a face-to-face appointment on one day the following week at the HMYOI Polmont Health Centre. This is in keeping with prison rules that participants must have at least 48 hours' notice of health centre appointments.

In the face-to-face meeting, the researcher will meet one-to-one with any interested potential participants and a pack (consent form, accessible information document, blank pages for participant to take notes if he wishes) will be provided; in this session, the researcher and potential participant will go through the documents together and the study objectives and procedure will be outlined; possible benefits and risks will be discussed. Throughout the discussion, the researcher will check understanding of giving consent to participate, objectives of the study and procedure involved, and benefits and risks. The potential participant is free to ask questions about the study. Interest in participation is not assumed to be consent to participate, and this will be made clear to the potential participant at this meeting. Upon consent to participate, it is envisaged that assessment will begin the following week.

It is envisaged that this defined process of recruitment will occur on a rolling basis from week 3 until the final month of the study. However, the procedure is dependent on the number of interested parties from the week 1 call for participants. If there is significant interest in participation, this will have a knock-on effect on the number of discussion sessions with potential participants into the following weeks.

If you are not obtaining consent, please explain why not.

This text box will expand as required.

F6. (Children) If you intend to provide children under 16 with information about the research and seek their consent or agreement/assent, please outline how this process will vary according to their age and level of understanding. Copies of written information sheet(s) for parents and children, consent/assent form(s) and any other explanatory material should be enclosed with the application.

For further information on providing information and obtaining consent/assent from children, please refer to this online information for best practice:

<http://www.hra-decisiontools.org.uk/consent/principles-children.html>

This text box will expand as required.

F7. Will the research involve participant deception?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If you answered Yes to Question F7, please justify the use of deception. Also describe what procedures will be implemented to safeguard the dignity, safety and welfare of the participants during the research and after it has ended.

This text box will expand as required.

Section I: Declarations by applicant

11. Having completed all the relevant items of this form and, if appropriate, having attached the Information Sheet and Consent Form plus any other relevant documentation as indicated below, complete the statement below.

- I have read Queen Margaret University's document on "Research Ethics: Regulations, Procedures, and Guidelines".
- The information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it.
- *In my view* this research is:

<i>Please tick</i>	<i>See Research Ethics Guidelines Section 6</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Non-invasive
<input type="checkbox"/>	Minor invasive using an established procedure at QMU
<input type="checkbox"/>	Minor invasive using a NEW procedure at QMU
<input type="checkbox"/>	Major invasive

- I understand that research records/data may be subject to inspection by review bodies for audit purposes if required.

12. Access to application for training purposes (please tick as appropriate):

- ☒ I would be content for members of Research Ethics Committees to have access to the information in the application in confidence for training purposes. All personal identifiers and references to sponsors, funders and research units would be removed.

Name (*if you have an electronic signature please include it here*)

_____ Dermot Fitzsimons _____ Date ____ 15th July 2016 _____

Section I: Declarations by applicant

11. Having completed all the relevant items of this form and, if appropriate, having attached the Information Sheet and Consent Form plus any other relevant documentation as indicated below, complete the statement below.

- I have read Queen Margaret University's document on "Research Ethics: Regulations, Procedures, and Guidelines".
- The information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief and I take full responsibility for it.
- In my view this research is:

Please tick	See Research Ethics Guidelines Section 6
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Non-invasive
<input type="checkbox"/>	Minor invasive using an established procedure at QMU
<input type="checkbox"/>	Minor invasive using a NEW procedure at QMU
<input type="checkbox"/>	Major invasive

- I understand that research records/data may be subject to inspection by review bodies for audit purposes if required.

12. Access to application for training purposes (please tick as appropriate):

- ☒ I would be content for members of Research Ethics Committees to have access to the information in the application in confidence for training purposes. All personal identifiers and references to sponsors, funders and research units would be removed.

Name (if you have an electronic signature please include it here)

_____ Dermot Fitzsimons _____ Date _____ 15th July 2016 _____

13. If you are a student, show the completed form to your supervisor/Director of Studies and ask them to sign the statement below. If you are a member of staff, sign the statement below yourself.

- I am the supervisor/Director of Studies for this research.
- In my view this research is:

<i>Please tick</i>	<i>See Research Ethics Guidelines Section 6</i>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<i>Non-invasive</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Minor invasive using an established procedure at QMU</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Minor invasive using a NEW procedure at QMU</i>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<i>Major invasive</i>

- I have read this application and I approve it.

Name (if you have an electronic signature please include it here)

_____ Dr Ann Clark _____

Date _____ 19th July 2016 _____

- 14. For all applicants,** send the completed form to your Head of Division or Head of Research Centre or, if you are an external researcher, submit the completed form to the Secretary to the QMU Research Ethics Panel (ResearchEthics@qmu.ac.uk). **You should not proceed with any aspect of your research which involves the use of participants, or the use of data which is not in the public domain, until you have been granted Ethical Approval.**

<p>For completion by The Head of Division/Subject Area/Group, OR Division/Subject Area/Group Research Ethics Committee:</p> <p><i>Either</i></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I refer this application back to the applicant for the following reason(s):</p> <p>Name <i>(if you have an electronic signature please include it here)</i></p> <p>_____ (Head of Division/ Subject Area/ Group)</p> <p>Date _____</p> <p>Please return the form to the applicant.</p> <p><i>Or</i></p> <p>Please tick one of the alternatives below:</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I refer this application to the QMU Research Ethics Panel.</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> I find this application acceptable and an application for Ethical Approval should now be submitted to a relevant external committee.</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> I grant Ethical Approval for this research.</p> <p>Name <i>(if you have an electronic signature please include it here)</i></p> <p>_____james m scobbie_____ (Head of Division/ Subject Area/ Group)</p> <p>Date __01 08 2016_____</p> <p>Please email one copy of this form to the applicant and one copy to the Secretary to the Research Ethics Panel (ResearchEthics@qmu.ac.uk).</p>

APPENDIX D: SCOTTISH PRISON SERVICE COMPLIANCE WITH RESEARCH ACCESS REGULATIONS CONTRACT

REGULATIONS CONCERNING RESEARCH ACCESS TO PRISON ESTABLISHMENTS FOR THE PURPOSES OF CONDUCTING RESEARCH

All access to prison establishments for the purposes of conducting research is conditional on the researcher(s) agreeing to abide by the undernoted requirements.

1. All data and research material arising out of the study must be dealt with on an anonymous, unattributable and confidential basis. No individual should be named or identified. Researchers must comply with the Data Protection Act (1998).
2. If the study is to involve interviewing respondents, all such respondents must give voluntary consent and be informed of the purpose of the study; anticipated uses of data; identity of funder(s) (if applicable); and the identity of the interviewer.
3. All research data and material of whatever kind (i.e. interview notes, questionnaires, tapes, transcripts, reports, documents, specifications, instructions, plans, drawings, patents, models, designs, whether in writing or on electronic or other media) obtained from the Scottish Prison Service shall remain the property of the Crown. Information collected during the course of a research project must not be supplied to another party or used for any other purpose other than that agreed to and contained in the original research proposal. All confidential research data obtained from SPS must be held securely for up to a maximum of 60 months on completion of the research and destroyed thereafter.
4. All researchers must abide by the ethical guidelines of their profession or discipline and must nominate below the guidelines to which they will adhere. (e.g. Social Research Association, British Sociological Association etc.) All researchers must arrange to be PVG cleared at the appropriate (adult) level if contact with prisoners is envisaged.
5. Where appropriate, research proposals may require to be submitted to the Ethics Committee of the Area Health Board (or MREC) and to receive its approval before access is granted.
6. The Chair of the SPS Research Access and Ethics Committee (RAEC) must be informed in writing and agree to any changes to the project which involve alterations to the essential nature of the agreed work.

7. The Scottish Prison Service reserves the right to terminate access to SPS establishments at any time for any Operational reason that may arise or for any breach by the researcher of the Access Regulations or for any failure on the part of the researcher to conduct the study as agreed with the RAEC. In the event of access being terminated for any reason whatsoever, all data obtained from SPS during the course of the research shall be returned to the Scottish Prison Service.
8. The Scottish Prison Service has a duty of care to staff and visitors on its premises and has public liability indemnity.
9. It is a condition of access that a copy of any final report or dissertation or other written output arising from the research MUST be submitted to SPS to be lodged in its Research Library. Any material resulting from access which is intended to be presented publicly must also be submitted to SPS. In principle, the Scottish Prison Service supports the publication and dissemination of research findings arising from approved work, but the Service reserves the right to amend factual inaccuracies.
10. Reports and presentations should be sent to the Chair of the Research Access and Ethics Committee, Analytical Services, SPS Headquarters, Calton House, Redheughs Rigg, Edinburgh EH12 9HW.

Ethical guidelines nominated _____

I have read the above regulations and agree to be bound by them.

DFitzsimons (Signature)

(Date)

APPENDIX E: SCOTTISH PRISON SERVICE LETTER OF ACCESS



HEADQUARTERS

Research
Strategy and Innovation

Calton House
5 Redheughs Rigg
EDINBURGH
EH12 9HW

Direct dialing: 0131 244 8771
Switchboard: 0131 244 8745
Fax: 0131 244 3651

Dr Ann Clark, MRCSLT
Senior Lecturer
Speech and Hearing Sciences
Queen Margaret University
Queen Margaret University Drive
Musselburgh

7 April 2016

Dear Ann

POLMONT YOI - COMMUNICATION SUPPORT NEEDS PROJECT 2016

Your research proposal was considered in the SPS Research Access and Ethics Committee at its meeting in February 2016.

The Committee approved the study. You have already signed the SPS standard access regulations and I have a copy of these on file.

The Committee wished you well in the completion of the project and it looked forward to receiving a copy of the report in due course for the SPS research library.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'James K. Carnie'. The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial 'J'.

Dr James Carnie
SPS Research

APPENDIX F: APPLICATION TO USE A LAPTOP COMPUTER IN A SCOTTISH PRISON

ANNEX 2

PROTECT – MANAGEMENT (WHEN COMPLETE)



USE OF CAMERAS/VIDEOS AND OTHER IMAGE/SOUND RECORDING DEVICES TAKEN IN TO PRISON BY VISITORS

Part A – Request for Use

Requesters Details

Name:	Ann Clark	Telephone No.	0131 474 0000
Address:	Speech and Hearing Sciences Queen Margaret University Musselburgh EH21 6UU		

Prison where the photographs/video will be taken:	HMYOI Polmont
----------------------------------------------------------	---------------

Reason for Request:

Please provide the reason for your request including the type of equipment to be used, where and when it will be used and who will be captured in the photographs/video.

No photographs or video images will be taken.

A request is being made as part of the Communication Support Needs research project taking place within HMYOI Polmont in May-November 2016, investigating prisoners' views on their language and communication abilities.

Only audio recordings will be made of interviews with prisoners who have recent experience of accommodation in Dunedin Unit. Recordings will be made onto a laptop with an encrypted hard drive. Recordings will be made within HMYOI Polmont. Exact location of the recordings will be determined on the day of interview.

PROTECT - MANAGEMENT (WHEN COMPLETE)

APPENDIX G: NHS FORTH VALLEY RESEARCH PASSPORT

(blank/non-information pages in the original form have been omitted)

Research Passport Application Form – Version 3 01/09/2012

Please refer to the guidance notes before completing the form.

Section 1 - Details of Researcher To be completed by Researcher			
1.	Surname: Fitzsimons		Prof <input type="checkbox"/> Dr <input type="checkbox"/> Mr <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mrs <input type="checkbox"/>
	Forename(s): Dermot		Miss <input type="checkbox"/> Ms <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/>
	Home Address: Flat 16d 154 Broomhill Drive, Glasgow G11 7NF		
	Work Tel: 07595 937898 dfitzsimons@qmu.ac.uk	Mobile: 07595 937898	Email:
2.	Date of birth: 24/03/73	Gender: Male <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	
	Ethnicity: White Irish	National Insurance number: NZ380730B	
3.	Professional registration details, if applicable (Doctors undertaking any form of medical practice should confirm they have a licence to practise). N/A <input type="checkbox"/> Member of Health and Care Professions Council - SL31145 Member of Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists - RC0033426		
4.	Employer: Queen Margaret University or place of study: Work Address/Place of Study: Queen Margaret University, Queen Margaret University Drive, Musselburgh EH21 6UU Post or status held: Research Assistant		
Section 2 - Details of Research To be completed by Researcher			
5.	What type of Research Passport do you need? Project-specific <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Multi-project <input type="checkbox"/> <i>If you will be conducting one project only please complete the details below. If you anticipate that you will be undertaking more than one project at any one time, please give details in the Appendix.</i> Project Title: Young Offenders, Segregation and Communication Support Needs Project Start Date: 01/06/16 End Date: 01/12/16 Proposed start and end-date of 3-year Research Passport: Start Date: 01/06/16 End Date: 01/06/19		
	NHS organisation(s):	Dept(s):	Proposed research activities:
	NHS Forth Valley	Speech and Language Therapy - Adult Rehabilitation	Investigation of communication support needs of young men in Dunedin Unit, Polmont
			Manager in NHS organisation: Anne-Marie Irving
Section 3 – Declaration by Researcher To be completed by Researcher			
6.	Have you ever been refused an honorary research contract?		Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Have you ever had an honorary research contract revoked?		Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	If yes to either question, please give details:		
I consent to the information provided as part of this Research Passport and attached documents being used, recorded and stored by authorised staff of the NHS organisations where I will be conducting research.			
Signed:		Date:	

Section 4 - Suitability of Researcher	
<i>To be completed by researcher's substantive employer, e.g. line manager, or academic supervisor</i>	
7.a	Will this person's research activity mean that they may be undertaking regulated activity with children and/or adults as defined in the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006, as amended (in particular by the Protection of Freedoms Act 2012)? (please use the Research Passport algorithm to make this judgement)
	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
7.b	I am satisfied that the above named individual is suitably trained and experienced to undertake the duties associated with the research activities outlined in this Research Passport form.
	Signed: _____ Date: _____
	Name: _____ Job Title: _____
	Department and Organisation: _____
	Address: _____
	Tel No: _____ Email: _____
	Managerial responsibility for the applicant: _____
<i>When Section 4 has been completed, the researcher should forward the form to the appropriate person to complete Section 5.</i>	
Section 5 - Pre-engagement checks <i>To be completed by the HR department of the researcher's substantive employer or registry at place of study</i>	
8.	Does the above named individual's research involve Regulated Activity with children and/or adults as defined in the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006, as amended (in particular by the Protection of Freedoms Act 2012)?
	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
	If yes to the above, has the above named individual been checked against ISA barred lists for adults and/or children, as appropriate and have you received confirmation via the criminal record disclosure that the person is not barred from working with adults and/or children? (NB individuals who are barred from working with adults or children must not undertake a regulated activity in the NHS with the vulnerable group from which they are barred, and you must not submit a Research Passport form in such cases).
	Checked against: ISA Adults List? Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
	ISA Children's List? Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
	Can you confirm that a clear criminal record disclosure has been obtained for the above-named individual, with no subsequent reports from the individual of changes to this record? NB for Regulated Activity this must be an enhanced level criminal record check. For non-regulated activity, ensure the criminal record check is at the mandated level.
	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
	If yes, please provide details of the clear disclosure:
	Date of disclosure: 16/05/13
	Type of disclosure: PVG - Adults and children
	Disclosure No.: 1305 1621 7408 0370
	Organisation that requested disclosure: Queen Margaret University
9.	Have the pre-engagement checks described below been carried out with regard to the above-named individual and is confirmation of the necessary checks, including any required satisfactory documentary evidence, available in the employing organisation's/place of study's records?
	▪ Employment/student screening:
	o ID with photograph Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	o two references Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	o verification of permission to work/study in the UK Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	o exploration of any gaps in employment Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	▪ Evidence of current professional registration Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
	▪ Evidence of qualifications Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	▪ Occupational health screening / clearance Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Is the named individual on a fixed term contract or is the contract end imminent? Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
	Please indicate current contract end-date Date: Research Assistant until 30 November 2016
	Signed: _____ Date: 14/04/2016
	Name: Angela Gentle Job Title: Senior HR Partner
	Organisation: Queen Margaret University Department: HR
	Address: Queen Margaret University Drive, Musselburgh, EH21 6UU
	Tel No: 0131 474 0000 Email: agentle@qmu.ac.uk

Section 6 - Instructions to applicants	
To be completed by Researcher	
Please indicate which of the following documents are attached to this Research Passport:	
Current curriculum vitae, including details of qualifications, training and professional registration (please use the template C.V. at http://www.rdforum.nhs.uk/docs/template_cv.doc)	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
Researcher's copy of criminal record disclosure. NB where research involves regulated activity with children and/or adults as defined in the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006, as amended (in particular by the Protection of Freedoms Act 2012), the disclosure must include confirmation of a check against the appropriate ISA barred list(s).	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
Evidence of occupational health screening / clearance	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
Appendix – List of projects and amendments	Appendix numbers: N/A <input type="checkbox"/>

Please send the completed form and original documents to the Lead R&D office. The completed form and original documents will be returned to you. This package of documents will be used to validate your completed Research Passport form. You may then, and where relevant, provide the Research Passport to other NHS organisations.

You must inform all NHS organisations that have received this Research Passport of any changes to the information supplied above. Failure to do so may result in withdrawal of your honorary research contract or letter of access. As part of the quality control procedures for the Research Passport, random checks on the accuracy of the information held on this Research Passport may be made.

Has the Research Passport been validated by a Lead NHS organisation and is this validation acceptable to this NHS organisation? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>			
CV reviewed?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Training?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
Evidence of qualifications?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Appendix pages reviewed?	Numbers:
Professional Registration details reviewed?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>	Occupational health clearance reviewed?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
Criminal record disclosure reviewed?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>	Date of disclosure: Disclosure No:	
For regulated activity as defined in the Safeguarding Vulnerable Groups Act 2006, as amended by the Protection of Freedoms Act 2012, did the criminal record disclosure confirm a satisfactory check against the appropriate ISA barred list(s)			Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
Checked Electronic Staff Record: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/>			
Signed:			Date:
Name:			
NHS organisation name and contact details:			
Date honorary research contract/letter of access issued (<i>delete as appropriate</i>)			

Passport Appendix. List of projects and amendmentsAppendix Number:

If you are applying for a three-year Research Passport, please use this section to enter details of projects and activities that will be covered by this Research Passport. Once you have a validated Research Passport, you may add details of subsequent projects during the three years that this Research Passport is valid.

If you are applying for a project-specific Research Passport, but need to add further sites to the project, please enter the details below.

Whenever you add further details, the full Research Passport and accompanying documents must be submitted to the relevant NHS organisations.

Title:		Start Date:	End Date:
NHS organisation(s):	Dept(s):	Proposed research activities:	Manager in NHS organisation:

Amendments to the Research Passport

Please state what these are, e.g. they might be a change in name or employment details, or a change in research activities.

Please check with the NHS organisation where you are undertaking your research if you are unsure whether you will need to submit new evidence of pre-engagement checks on a new Research Passport form, which will need to be validated by the NHS organisation(s) hosting your research.

Date	Old Details	New Details	Office use only NHS R&D contact details and signature
12/11/2016	Project end date 01/12/16	Project end date 31/03/17	
12/11/2016	Dermot Fitzsimons - Research Assistant until 30/11/16	Dermot Fitzsimons - PhD Student after 30/11/16	
12/11/2016	Start date/end date of 3-year passport 01/06/16 - 01/06/19	To be removed - this is a single project-specific passport and these dates were made in error.	

APPENDIX H: NHS FORTH VALLEY MANAGEMENT APPROVAL LETTER



Date: 13 Sept 2016
Your Ref:
Our Ref:
Direct Line: 01324 677564
Email: FV-UHB.RandD-depart@nhs.net
R&D ref: FV952

Mr D Fitzsimons
Assistant Lecturer/PhD Researcher
Queen Margaret University
Clinical Audiology Speech and Language Research Centre
Musselburgh
EH21 6UU

Dear Mr Fitzsimons

Study title: Young Offenders, Segregation and Communication Support Needs
REC reference: 16/WS/0131:

Following the favourable opinion from the West of Scotland REC 3 on 13 July 2016, I am pleased to confirm that I formally gave Management Approval to the study above on 13 Sept 2016. This approval is subject to the following conditions:

This approval is granted subject to your compliance with the following: yourself and Ann Clark signing and returning Letters of Access to allow you to undertake work within NHS Forth Valley.

1. Any amendments to the protocol or research team must have Ethics Committee and R&D approval (as well as approval from any other relevant regulatory organisation) before they can be implemented. Please ensure that the R&D Office and (where appropriate) NRS are informed of any amendments as soon as you become aware of them.
2. You and any local Principal Investigator are responsible for ensuring that all members of the research team have the appropriate experience and training, including GCP training if required.
3. All those involved in the project will be required to work within accepted guidelines of health and safety and data protection principles, any other relevant statutory legislation, the Research Governance Framework for Health and Community Care and ICH-GCP guidelines. A copy of the Framework can be accessed via the Chief Scientist Office website at: <http://www.cso.scot.nhs.uk/Publications/ResGov/Framework/RGFEEdTwo.pdf> and ICH-GCP guidelines may be found at <http://www.ich.org/LOB/media/MEDIA482.pdf>
4. As custodian of the information collected during this project you are responsible for ensuring the security of all personal information collected in line with NHS Scotland IT security policies, until the destruction of this data.
5. You or the local Principal Investigator will be required to provide the following reports and information during the course of your study:
 - A progress report annually

D:\AAA WORKING DRAFTS\Appendices\FV952 approval MANAGEMENT APPROVAL.docx

- Recruitment numbers on a **monthly** basis (if your study should be added to the NIHR research Portfolio you will receive a separate letter from the R&D Office detailing the steps to be taken)
- Report on SAEs and SUSARs if your study is a Clinical Trial of an Investigational Medicinal Product
- Any information required for the purpose of internal or external audit and monitoring
- Copies of any external monitoring reports
- Notification of the end of recruitment and the end of the study
- A copy of the final report, when available.
- Copies of or full citations for any publications or abstracts

The appropriate forms will be provided to you by the Research and Development office when they are needed. Other information may be required from time to time.

Yours sincerely

Pp 

MISS TRACEY GILLIES
Medical Director

CC: acjark@qmu.ac.uk
Jackie.mckeitch@nhs.net

APPENDIX I: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION, CONSENT FORM, INVITATION LETTER AND GP LETTER

Version: 1.3
Date: 24.10.16

Talking and Listening in the Justice System

Information sheet

***Would you like to find out more
about how you communicate with other people –
how much you understand, and how much they understand you?***

- Please read the information below – you can ask about anything you don't understand
- This sheet will help you make up your mind about whether you want to take part in this research
- This project is part of my PhD research at Queen Margaret University

What is the research about?

- Good communication is really important for us all, whether we're young people or adults.
- My research is looking at the communication skills of young people who are in Polmont and have recently been in Dunedin Unit.
- I want to find out more about your communication. I'll use tests that can tell us more about what you're good at, and also if you're having difficulties with:
 - understanding other people, and/or
 - other people understanding ***you***.

Why have I been asked to take part?

- Because you're a young person aged between 16 and 21, and you've been in Dunedin Unit at Polmont recently.
- There hasn't been any research done into young people your age who've been in places like Dunedin Unit.

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What will I be asked to do?

- You'll be asked to do some tests on different parts of your language and communication, like following instructions, listening to/repeating words or sentences.
- The tests will be recorded, and I'll write down your answers on an answer sheet. This will take about an hour for four tests but you can have a break if you like.
- We'll also have a chat about how you feel when you communicate – do you ever feel people don't understand what you're saying, or you don't understand them? This chat will take about 45 minutes. It will be on a different day from the tests.
- This will happen in the Healthcare Unit. I might visit you more than once to get all the information.
- If during the interviews we have any concerns about your health and wellbeing, or the health and wellbeing of anyone else, we will discuss this with you and follow normal NHS procedures.

Do I have to take part?

- No.
- If you do decide to take part, you can keep this information sheet and then you'll sign a consent form to say you're happy to take part.
- If you do decide to take part now, you can still decide to stop later on. You don't have to give a reason.

What happens after the tests?

- After you've done the tests:
 - I'll talk to you about your results.

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Date: 24.10.16

- And then I'll share your results with other healthcare staff in Polmont and if you agree, your GP.
- I will keep the test results and store them safely. No-one else will have access to them and your name will not be on any of the documents.
- If you have any questions after the tests, you can ask your PO to get in touch with me.

How can taking part help me?

- You'll find out more about what you're good at with your communication, and also you'll find out more about areas where you might be having some difficulty – this can be a good way of talking about how you communicate.
- You can ask questions about your own and other people's communication.
- Your test results will be used to help you develop your communication skills. It will also help prison staff to get an idea of what works when they're talking to you or giving you written information. It will also help them make sure you've understood what's being said to you.

Are there any risks?

- You might get tired during the tests. If this happens, you can stop at any time for a break.
- Your results might not be what you expected. If this happens, we will talk about them, and look at your strengths and any problems you feel you have.

What will happen to the assessment results?

- No-one will be able to identify you from your results – your name won't be on any of the information.
- If the results show you are having problems with your communication, we may refer you to the Speech and Language Therapy service in Polmont.
- The results will be shared with the public, Speech and Language Therapists and academics on the QMU website, conference presentations, and also be published in academic journals.

Version: 1.3
Date: 24.10.16

Who is organising the research?

- The research is organised by Queen Margaret University and SPS, and is paid for by Queen Margaret University. It runs from 1 June 2016 – 31 March 2017.

You can decide if you want to take part in the project. If you say yes, you can keep this information sheet and will be asked to sign a consent form. You can say you don't want to carry on with the tests at any time. You don't have to give a reason. If you decide you don't want to carry on, I'll use the results you've already given. If you don't want me to use any of the results, you can tell me.

If you would like to speak to someone else who knows about this project but is not involved in it, contact: Anne-Marie Irving, Speech and Language Therapy – Adult Services, Forth Valley Hospital, Stirling Rd, FK5 4WR.

Thank you.

Dermot Fitzsimons

Contact:

Dermot Fitzsimons
Speech and Hearing Sciences,
Queen Margaret University,
Musselburgh,
East Lothian EH21 6UU

Email: DFitzsimons@qmu.ac.uk
Phone: 0131 474 0000

Version: 1.0
Date: 08.06.16



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

Consent Form

Project Title: Young Offenders, Segregation and Communication Support Needs

Thank you for reading the information about the research project. If you would like to take part, please read and sign this form.

Name _____ Age _____

Please Initial Box

1. I have read and understand the information sheet, and have had the chance to ask questions.
2. I understand that I am volunteering to take part and I can withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. If I decide to withdraw, my results so far can still be used in the study. If I don't want you to use any results, I can tell you.
3. I agree to take part in this project and my assessment results can be kept for up to 5 years. My name will not be on any documents.
4. I agree that my assessment results can be used **without identifying me** in the researchers' work – at conferences, in journal articles, and in lectures.
5. I agree that my assessment results can be shared with SPS staff and NHS staff working in Polmont HMYOI.
6. I agree that this information can be shared with my GP.

Name of Participant

Signature

Date

Name of Person taking consent

Signature

Date

Dermot Fitzsimons
Speech and Hearing Sciences
Queen Margaret University
Musselburgh
EH21 6UU

Date:

Dear _____

I'm writing to you to ask if you'd like to take part in my project.

I'm a speech and language therapist. My research is looking at the communication skills of men who have been in Dunedin Unit. I want to find out about your communication.

In the project, we will do some language tests which can tell us more about what you're good at. They can also show us if you're having difficulties with your communication. We will also have a chat about how you feel about your communication skills.

If you're interested in taking part, please send back the envelope to Denise Allan at the Health Centre. After that, I will make an appointment to meet you.

Thanks

Dermot Fitzsimons SLT

[Version: 1.2 Date: 23.01.17]

Version number: 1.0
Date: 08.06.16

Dermot Fitzsimons
Speech and Hearing Sciences
Queen Margaret University
Musselburgh
EH21 6UU

Dear GP/Healthcare staff,

Project Title: Segregation, Young Offenders and Communication Support Needs

Name:

DOB:

We are sending this information to you as the GP/healthcare staff involved with
_____.

It is to inform you that _____ is participating in the above research project, which is taking place in HMYOI Polmont. The study aims to investigate the communication support needs of the young men who have experienced segregation while at HMYOI Polmont, and their perspectives on those needs.

We are funded by Queen Margaret University and are registered Speech and Language Therapists. We have made it clear that we are fully aware of and respect issues of confidentiality and privacy. The young men are taking part voluntarily and have the right to opt out of the study at any point without giving a reason.

Please get in touch if you would like to speak to us further about the study.

Faithfully

Dermot Fitzsimons
Dr Ann Clark

Email: Dfitzsimons@gmu.ac.uk
Tel: 0131 474 0000

APPENDIX J: PRISON OFFICER INFORMATION SHEET

Polmont HMYOI Communication Support Needs Project 2016-17

Researcher: Dermot Fitzsimons

Research background:

- At least 60% of male young offenders have speech, language and communication difficulties which may impair ability to access and benefit from targeted services and interventions and can affect everyday interaction. Language difficulties are also a risk factor for behavioural problems and poor peer relationships.
- There's been little research into the views of the young men themselves about their own language and communication abilities. There is even less research into the communication abilities and views of the young men removed from association/placed in segregation units.

Research project:

- The project runs from June 1 2016 – March 31 2017 at HMYOI Polmont
- *Participants:*
 - Potential participants in Munro, Iona and Dunedin are sent an invitation letter, and information about project with consent forms to send back to Denise Allan, Health Centre Manager.
- *Method:*
 - A language assessment (30-45 mins) and structured interview (up to 45 mins) will gain information about the young person's skills and perspectives on own communication skills. Will take place over two sessions, either in Halls meeting rooms/Health Centre.
 - Dermot Fitzsimons, researcher, will be at Polmont once or twice a week until end of March 2017 arranging and carrying out assessment and interviews.
- *Results:*
 - Recommendations made to Speech and Language Therapy dept about participant's individual support needs (if appropriate), shared with POs and other healthcare staff to support SPS staff with future management of participant.
- *Other information:*
 - Dermot Fitzsimons underwent Personal Protection/ACT Training in March 2016.
 - Get in touch with Dermot if you want to discuss the project further.

APPENDIX K: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Format	Content	Obs
<p>Introduction- key components</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thank you • I am... • The purpose of this is.... • Confidentiality • Duration • Any questions for me at this stage • Informed consent 	<p>First I'd like to say thanks for coming to do the interview.</p> <p>I'm Dermot Fitzsimons, I'm a speech and language therapist and doing this research at Queen Margaret University</p> <p>The purpose of this is to find out your opinions about your own language and communication skills, what communication is like here and in Dunedin, and find out your opinions about how people communicate with you in your life. I'll ask you some questions about life here, before you came here, and also how important you think communication skills are.</p> <p>This interview will be recorded and transcribed, and is also anonymous. It will be used for analysis but no identifying information will be included in the final write-ups.</p> <p>We'll be anything between 30 minutes to an hour- depending on how we go.</p> <p>Is there anything you would like to ask me at this stage?</p> <p>If it's ok, can I get your verbal consent now to continue?</p> <p>CONSENT FORM</p>	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How long have you been here at P? 2. Do you have a release date? 3. What's a typical day for you here? 	

General views on communication skills		Obs
Definition	<p>1. What do you think the word communication means?</p> <p><i>P: What else is involved? How people speak, being able to express what you want clearly so others understand you, listening to what others say and understanding. NV comm.</i></p>	
Judgments on communication – description of different modalities and skills – relating to oneself and others	<p>2. So based on that, what makes good communication? Bad communication?</p> <p><i>P: What do you think are the reasons for this? Why do you think this?</i></p>	
Rating self skills	<p>3. So thinking about communication being speaking well, understanding, listening and NV comm, what would you say your skills are like, (scale 1-5, 1 = very poor, 5 = excellent)</p>	RATINGS
C:		C
R:	<p><i>P: What are your reasons for this?</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What about your reading? (1 = very poor, 5 = excellent) ○ And writing? (1 = very poor, 5 = excellent) 	R
W:		W
Reading and writing	<p>4. Thinking about reading, writing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do you read? (Papers? Books? Magazines? P-related docs? Personal documentation?) ○ Tell me about something you read ○ What do you write? (letters, in activities, etc) ○ Is writing different to texting or emailing or online messaging? ○ Do you like writing/reading? 	Types of reading and writing – Tell me about something you’ve read
Frequency		
Types		
Qualitative – how are they different?		
Opinion – do you like R, do you like W?		
Importance of good communication, impact of breakdown	<p>5. How important do you think good communication is?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Why is it important? ○ What happens if it breaks down? <p><i>P: For jobs, education, social life, making changes in your life, Positive Futures, etc</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How important is reading/writing 	

	skill?	
Perceived change of being at Polmont on skills – C,R, W	<p><i>P: Why?</i></p> <p>6. Do you think your communication skills have changed, while at P?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How much has being at Polmont helped comm/reading/writing skills? ○ How do you get to use your comm/reading/writing at Polmont? ○ Do you find your skills useful for activities, meeting with PO, everyday interaction? ○ Are you involved in any programs? Do you want to be? <p>7. Do you think your reading skills have changed while at P?</p> <p>8. Do you think your writing skills have changed, while at P?</p>	<p>Better, worse, for reading, writing, communication?</p>
Involvement in Programs – use of C skills		<p>Read more? Write more?</p>
School history	<p>At school:</p> <p>9. Were there any subjects you preferred?</p> <p>10. What were you good at? What did you like?</p> <p>11. What did you struggle with? What subjects did you not like?</p> <p>12. How much did teachers help you with reading/writing? Did they make it worse in any way?</p>	<p>Note these</p>
Opinions, history		

Comprehension of environment	<p>Section 2: Justice and Welfare Environments</p> <p>How much do you think you fit in here at P?</p> <p>Is there anything you don't understand at Polmont? eg</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - rules - routines – meals, lights out, etc - route times etc - language - other people – how they talk or what they say to you - decisions made about you, e.g. release date, why going to Dunedin 	
Comprehension of staff	<p>13. How much do you understand what:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Prison officers tell you (1-5) b. Healthcare staff tell you (1-5) c. Support staff tell you (1-5) d. Your own PO tells you (1-5) <p>How much do you understand people on the outside, e.g. friends, the people who look after you?</p> <p><i>P: Is this different to how things are in Polmont? How?</i></p>	
Being understood	<p>14. How do you feel about how:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Prison officers understand you (1-5) b. Healthcare staff understand you (1-5) c. Your own PO understands you (1-5) <p>Do you have to do a lot of explaining of what you mean or do you think they get it?</p>	
Being understood during difficult situations	<p>In difficult situations, do you think people understand where you're coming from?</p>	
Support with comprehension	<p>15. If you're having difficulties here at P with understanding something, who helps you?</p>	
LAYP	<p>16. Care Environment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Were you ever in care? • How long for? Where did you stay? Who with? 	

Impact of poor communication skills in justice system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did you ever go to Children's Panels? • What were they like? <p>a. Did people ask you your opinions?</p> <p>b. Did you feel listened to?</p> <p>c. Was there anything that you think should have been better?</p>	
Impact of poor R/W in JS	<p>17. If you had poor communication skills, how would that affect your experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o in court? o ..with the police? o ..in the Children's Panel? <p>18. Do you think having poor reading/writing skills would affect your experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o in court? o ..with the police? o ..in the Children's Panel? 	
Own comprehension in system	<p><i>P: Why? Do you have to do much reading and writing with court/police/CP?</i></p> <p>19. How much do you understand when police/court/judges/lawyers speak to you? (1-5)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Reasons? 	
Being understood in system	<p>20. How satisfied are you with the way police/court/judges/lawyers understand you? (1-5)</p>	
Personal issues - support	<p>21. If you had something personal to talk about here could you talk to anyone about it?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> o YES – who, and why? o NO – why not? 	
Own communication style in community	<p>Section 3: Home life</p> <p>1. How do you talk to the people who look after you?</p> <p>2. Is it different to how you talk in here to POs, staff?</p> <p>3. How do you talk to friends and how is it different to how you talk in here? Do you talk in a different way to different friends?</p>	

Judgment on styles	<p>4. How do you talk to the people who look after you?</p> <p>5. How do they talk to you? <i>P: Reasons for this?</i></p> <p>6. How much do you like how the people who look after you talk to you? (1-5) <i>P: Why, and what would you prefer?</i></p> <p>7. How much do you think they like how you speak to them? <i>P: What do you think they like/don't like?</i></p>	
Negotiation and resolution of disagreements – communication skills	<p>Section 4: Communication breakdown</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> If you have an disagreement or argument with someone in here <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What sort of thing might it be about? Do you sort it out? If yes, how do you sort it? How do communication skills play a part in this? 	
Context and speaker	<p>2. Is it different between POs and other lads – what's the difference in how you talk to a PO and another here?</p>	
Example	<p>3. Who was the last person you argued with?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> What was it about? How'd it feel to you? What do you think the other person felt like? 	
Communication breakdown – frequency Problematic?	<p>4. Communication breakdown: when you don't understand someone or someone picks you up wrongly -</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How often does it happen? Do you think it's a problem for you? When it does happen, what would help you? 	
Support?		
Situations that can be problematic	<p>5. Are there any situations which you think are hard for you?</p> <p>In the halls every day In the morning</p>	

	<p>Routines</p> <p>Meal times</p> <p>Recreation</p> <p>Activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>What would help you?</i> <hr/>	
Dunedin	<p>Section 5 - Dunedin</p> <p>1. What was the reason as you see it why you went into Dunedin?</p> <p>2. How long were you there?</p> <p>3. How many times have you been there?</p> <p>4. What is it like in Dunedin?</p> <p>5. Do you get to talk to anyone?</p> <p>6. Read?</p> <p>7. Write?</p> <hr/>	
History and reasons		
Own description of solitary		
Communication env?		
SLT involvement	<p>Section 6: SLT involvement</p> <p>1. Have you had any SLT involvement while you've been in P?</p> <p>2. If yes – what?</p>	

APPENDIX L: NHS REC APPROVAL LETTERS FOR END DATE (AM03) AND CONSENT FORM (AM04) AMENDMENTS

WoSRES
West of Scotland Research Ethics Service



Mr D Fitzsimons
Assistant Lecturer/PhD Researcher
Queen Margaret University
Clinical Audiology Speech and Language
Research Centre
Queen Margaret University
Musselburgh
EH21 6UU

West of Scotland REC 3
West Ambulatory Care Hospital
Dalnair Street
Yorkhill
Glasgow
www.nhsggc.org.uk

Date 21 March 2017
Direct line 0141-232-1806
e-mail Wosrec3@ggc.scot.nhs.uk

Dear Mr Fitzsimons

Study title: Young Offenders, Segregation and Communication Support Needs
REC reference: 16/WS/0131
Protocol number: N/a
Amendment number: AM03 Minor
Amendment date: 17 March 2017
IRAS project ID: 209939

Summary of Amendment;

This minor amendment refers to a study extension from 31st March 2017 to 30th April 2017.

Thank you for your email of 17 March 2017, notifying the Committee of the above amendment.

The Committee does not consider this to be a "substantial amendment" as defined in the Standard Operating Procedures for Research Ethics Committees. The amendment does not therefore require an ethical opinion from the Committee and may be implemented immediately, provided that it does not affect the approval for the research given by the R&D office for the relevant NHS care organisation.

Documents received

The documents received were as follows:

Document	Version	Date
Notice of Non Substantial Amendment	AM03 Minor	17 March 2017

Statement of compliance

The Committee is constituted in accordance with the Governance Arrangements for Research Ethics Committees and complies fully with the Standard Operating Procedures for Research Ethics Committees in the UK.

Mr D Fitzsimons
Assistant Lecturer/PhD Researcher
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APPENDIX M: NHS FORTH VALLEY APPROVAL LETTER FOR END DATE AMENDMENTS (AM03)

NHS Forth Valley

Carseview House
Castle Business Park
Stirling
FK9 4SW



Date: 24 March 2017
Your Ref:
Our Ref:
Direct Line: 01324 214690
Email: FV-UHB.RandD-depart@nhs.net
R&D ref: FV952


Mr D Fitzsimons
Assistant Lecturer/PhD Researcher
Queen Margaret University
Clinical Audiology Speech and Language Research Centre
Musselburgh
EH21 6UU

Dear Mr Fitzsimons

Study title: Young Offenders, Segregation and Communication Support Needs
REC reference: 16/WS/0131
Amendment number: AM03 Minor
Amendment date: 17 March 2017:

Further to R&D management approval of this study on 13 Sept 2016, I am writing to confirm that NHS Forth Valley will accept the Amendment(s) detailed above as noted by the West of Scotland REC 3 on 21 March 2017.

Yours sincerely


pp
MR. ANDREW MURRAY
Medical Director

CC: aclark@qmu.ac.uk
Jackie.mckeitch@nhs.net

 INVESTORS IN PEOPLE Silver	Chairman: Alex Lindsay CBE Chief Executive: Jane Grant <i>Forth Valley NHS Board is the common name for Forth Valley Health Board</i> Registered Office: Carseview House, Castle Business Park, Stirling FK9 4SW www.nhsforthvalley.com  Facebook.com/nhsforthvalley  @nhsforthvalley
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List of documents approved: REC acknowledgement of minor amendment

V:\Research And Development\ALL PROJECT FOLDERS\Active NHS FV projects\FV952 Young offenders and segregation Clark\AM03\FV952 AM03 approval.docx

APPENDIX N: AMENDED CONSENT SLIP (X2)

Do you want to take part in the Communication project?

YES, I want to take part in the project. ☐

NO, I don't want to take part in the project. ☐

NAME: _____

SPIN: _____

Please put this piece of paper in the brown envelope.
Then give it to an officer.

If you said YES, I will come and meet you soon to talk about the project.

Dermot Fitzsimons, Speech and Language Therapist

Date: 31/03/17 Version 1.0

Do you want to take part in the Communication project?

YES, I want to take part in the project. ☐

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NAME: _____

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Please put this piece of paper in the brown envelope.
Then give it to an officer.

If you said YES, I will come and meet you soon to talk about the project.

Dermot Fitzsimons, Speech and Language Therapist

Date: 31/03/17 Version 1.0

APPENDIX O: CODING ITERATION 1

Accent
Accommodation - community
Activities - gym
Activity instead of fighting
Adult jail
Age - looked after
Aggression - immediacy
Aggression - personal problem
Aggression
Alcohol use
Alternative schooling - attendance
Alternative schooling
Anger issues
Annoyance
Another chance
Anxiety
Appointments - explanation
Argument - consequences
Argument - de-escalation
Argument - last person
Arguments - antecedents
Arguments - avoidance
Arguments - being a chicken
Arguments - community
Arguments - consequences
Arguments - daft things
Arguments - De-escalation
Arguments - emotions
Arguments - escalation
Arguments - family
Arguments - frequency
Arguments - friends
Arguments - immediacy
Arguments - judgement
Arguments - narrative
Arguments - peers
Arguments - physical
Arguments - protecting friends
Arguments - reasons
Arguments - resolution
Arguments - respect
Arguments - serious events
Arguments - staff
Arguments - verbal

Asking for help
Attention
Attitude - laid back
Attitude - to prison officers
Bail
Banter - taken seriously
Banter
Behaviour - threatening staff
Behaviour change - for future
Behaviour change and polmont
Being a talker
Being different to peers
Being understood - community support worker
Being understood - court - rating
Being understood - court
Being understood - expectations of staff
Being understood - general - prison
Being understood - healthcare staff
Being understood - modifying style between situations
Being understood - peers
Being understood - police
Being understood - prison officers
Being understood - rating - healthcare staff
Being understood - rating - personal officer
Being understood - rating - prison officers
Being understood - reasons for breakdown
Being understood - strategy
Blacking out
Boredom
Brother
Bullying
Cell
Chaplaincy
Charges - general
Charges - violence
Chavvies
Chef
Children
Children's Panel - arguments
Children's Panel - experience - decisions
Children's Panel - experience - support
Children's Panel - hearings - frequency
Children's Panel - offence grounds
Children's panel - reading skills

Children's panel - reasons
Children's Panel - YPs views
Children's Panels - being listened to
Children's Panels - communication skills
Children's Panels - experience - behaviour
Children's Panels - experience - negative
Children's Panels - experience
Children's panels - judgemental
Children's Panels - members
Children's Panels - understanding
Children's Panels - unfairness
codeswitching
College - interruption - offending
College - qualifications
College - subjects - positive
College - subjects
College
Communication - appropriate
Communication - avoidance
Communication - benefits
Communication - changes
Communication - conscious change in behaviour
Communication - conscious choice to communicate well
Communication - conscious decision to limit
Communication - 'daydreaming'
Communication - definition - social
Communication - definition
Communication - family - rating
Communication - family members
Communication - friends
Communication - frustration
Communication - good
Communication - influence of P
Communication - listening
Communication - mental health
Communication - needs
Communication - Non-verbal
Communication - opportunities
Communication - others' choices
Communication - peers
Communication - poor - consequences
Communication - poor - definition
Communication - poor - description
Communication - poor - shouting

Communication - positive
Communication - prison - clear messages
Communication - remand hall
Communication - repair
Communication - Repetition
Communication - respect
Communication - self-rating
Communication - self-view
Communication - sentence hall
Communication - shared understanding
Communication - social norms
Communication - social rules
Communication - support
Communication - talking to others
Communication - talking
Communication - understanding others
Communication - unfriendly
Communication as contact
Communication as sharing problems
Communication breakdown - consequences
Communication breakdown - emotional effect
Communication breakdown - frequency
Communication definition - absence of behaviours
Communication in prison - attitudes
Community - avoiding trouble
Community - family life
Community - friendship
Community - friendships - communication
Community - Interests
Community - routines
Community - social life
Community - support
Community support worker
Community worker
Complaint
Concerns - others' perceptions of self
Conversation - planning
Coping strategies
Court - experience
Court - expressive language - judgement
Court - understanding
Current circumstances - views
Depression

Differences in talk - community and prison
Difficulty - routines
Difficulty with transition
dirlist.txt
Distractions from fighting
Doing it wrong
Drug use - consequences
Drug worker
Drugs - selling
Dunedin - activities
Dunedin - arguments
Dunedin - attitude to staff
Dunedin - banter
Dunedin - communication
Dunedin - description
Dunedin - doors
Dunedin - exercise
Dunedin - given reason
Dunedin - judgement
Dunedin - last visit - duration
Dunedin - number of times
Dunedin - reading
Dunedin - reason for removal - understanding
Dunedin - sleep
Dunedin - TV
Dunedin - views
Dunedin - visits
Dunedin - writing
Dyslexia
Education at P - qualifications
Education
Empathy
Enemies
Facebook
Family - differences in talk
Family - rating - communication
Family - rating - how Y talks to
Family - relationship
Family background
Family views - accent change in P
Family
Father
Fear
Feeling - sleepy

feeling supported
Feelings - isolation
Fitting in
Foster care
Frequency of writing
Friends - lack of contact
Friends - liberated
Friends - talking
Friendship - backing up pal
Friendship - expectations
Friendships - geographical
Friendships - lack
Friendships - support
Friendships in prison
Friendships
Frustration
Future employment
Future plans
Geographical divide
Getting out
Girlfriend
Grade - basic
Grade - enhanced
Grade - standard
Grades
Grandmother
Habit
Handwriting
Hard work
Healthcare - arranging appointments
Healthcare staff - meeting
Help with reading while at P
Help with writing while at P
Hindsight
Home life
Home town - attitude
Imprisonment - attitudes
Index offence
Interaction - psychology staff
Interaction - therapists
Interests - Listening to music
Interests in P
Interests or hobbies in community
Internet use

Interview - comprehension of question
Isolating self
Job progression
Job-prison interruption
Jokes - Humour
Keep room tidy
Keeping head down
Keeping self to self
Knife
Labourer
Last book read
Lawyer - support
Lawyer
Learning difficulty - others' views
Learning difficulty
Learning disability
Liberation
Life - regret
Linguistic awareness
Listening
Literacy - police
Loneliness
Looked-after - Experience of accommodation
Looked-after - NO experience
Looked-after - reasons for ending
Looked-after - siblings
Looked-after - support
Looked-after - types
Looked-after experience - positive
Looked-after status
Looking stupid
Loss of face
Loss of liberty
Maturity
Meals
Mealtimes
Mental health teams
Mental Health
Metalinguistic awareness
Mistreatment
Mobile phone
Mother
Negative talk - family members
Negotiation skills

Noisy
Noise
Not bothering
Numeracy - self views
Offence - gangs
Offence - narrative
Offence background
Offences - background
Offending - history - violence
Offending record - prior
On a rule
On report
Online communication
Own children
Parole
Passman
patience
Peer behaviour
Peer mentors
Peer relationships - community
Peer relationships
Peers - communication
Peers - Friendship group
Peers - ignoring
Peers - immaturity
Peers - judgement
Peers - language
Peers - morals
Peers - perceived arrogance
Peers - perceived cowardice
Peers - seeking arguments
Peers - social distance
Peers - social groupings
Peers - support
Personal experience of reading
Personal issues
Personal officer
personalised response
Personality - Changes while in P
Personality change
Perspective - of prison officer
Phone use
Physical exercise
Physical fight
Police - experience

Police - mistrust
Police - powerlessness
Police - support
police - talking to police
Police - understanding
Police - views
Police - violence
Police - written statement
Politeness
Poor communication - consequences - prison
Poor communication scenario - police
Poor understanding - consequences
Possession of weapon
Pragmatic awareness
Pressure points in day
Prison - attitude to prison
Prison - differences between halls
Prison - emotional support
Prison - fear
Prison - fighting
Prison - history
Prison - Hopes
Prison - Living together
Prison - meeting other people
Prison - prior knowledge
Prison - proximity - difficulties
Prison - routines
Prison - social environment - choosing friends
Prison - Social groupings
Prison - social rules
Prison - Visits
Prison and communication changes
Prison officers
Privacy
Programmes and courses
Progression
Protection hall
psychologist
Public speaking
Qualifications
Reading - ability
Reading - attitudes
Reading - books
Reading - content - interest

Reading - difficulties
Reading - experience while at P
Reading - focus
Reading - frequency
Reading - help
Reading - newspapers
Reading - positive
Reading - preferred genre
Reading - prison documentation
Reading - prison-related content
Reading - rating
Reading - self-judgement
Reading - when in Dunedin
Reasons for reading
Reciprocation
Recreation time
Recreation
Regret
Rejection of behaviours
Relationship - personal officer
Release
Religion - Catholic
Remand status
Removing self socially
Reputation
Residential school
Respect - experience
Respect
Respecting elders
Roofer
Route
Routine
Routines
Safety
Samaritans
Saving face
Schemes
School - assault
School - attendance
School - attitudes to schoolwork
School - attitudes to staff
School - behaviour
School - behavioural school
School - bike lessons
School - change past

School - class clown
School - day unit
School - employment
School - English
School - Examinations - lack of interest
School - examinations - subjects
School - examinations
School - exclusion and help
School - exclusion
School - falling asleep
School - headteacher
School - learning - teachers - negative
School - learning - teachers - positive
School - leaving age
School - leaving
School - maths
School - narrative - perceived injustice
School - negative experiences
School - positive experiences
School - qualifications
School - reading skills
School - refusing help
School - regret
School - respect
School - skills into adulthood
School - subject - art
School - subject - chemistry
School - subject - geography
School - subject - history
School - subject - modern studies
School - subject - PE
School - subject - physics
School - subject - science
School - subject - tech drawing
School - subjects - negative views
School - subjects - positive views
School - vocabulary
School - waste of time
School - writing skills
School - younger behaviour
School attendance and reading
School reading
Secure unit
Self - articulation

Self-awareness
Self-harm
Self-image
Self-isolating behaviour
Sentence - judgement
Sentence history
Sentence
Siblings
SLCN
SLT involvement
Smashing up cell
Snapchat
Snitching
Social awkwardness
Social dominance
Social media - attitudes
Social media use
Social media
Social worker
Spelling - difficulties
Spelling - strategies
Staying out of trouble
Stress situations
Suicide
Support in P - someone to talk to
Supporting others
Swearing
Teenager
Temper
Texting
The route
Time spent so far
Tone
Transition to community
TV
Typical day
Understanding - asking for clarification
Understanding - Children's Panel - consequences
Understanding - confidence
Understanding - court - consequences
Understanding - court - judge
Understanding - court - rating
Understanding - court - support
Understanding - court - terminology

Understanding - court
Understanding - education staff
Understanding - family
Understanding - friends - community
Understanding - healthcare staff
Understanding - lawyer
Understanding - peers
Understanding - police - consequences
Understanding - police - reading
Understanding - police
Understanding - prison officers
Understanding - prison setting - experience
Understanding - rating - education staff
Understanding - rating - healthcare
Understanding - rating - personal officer
Understanding - rating - police
Understanding - rating - prison officers
Understanding - rules and routines
Understanding - staff - general

Understanding - support - lawyer
Understanding documents - court
Understanding of the prison setting
Violence - conscious trade-off
Violence - immediacy
Violence - not being afraid
Violence - Pre-emptive
Violence - rejection of beh
Violence - risk
Violence - social distance
Violence - Triggers
Violence
Visits
Vocabulary difficulties
Vocabulary
Vulnerability
Weakness
Weed use
Weegies

Whatsapp
Winding up
Windows - communication
Work party - positive communication
Work party
Writing - community
Writing - content
Writing - experience while at P
Writing - frequency
Writing - handwriting
Writing - help
Writing - letters
Writing - own view
Writing - positive
Writing - rapping
Writing - rating
Writing - reasons
Writing - stories
Writing music

APPENDIX P: CODING ITERATION 2

Name	Description
AdPrisJudComp	Judgments about “adult”/cons prison cf YOI
AFAction	Statement about whether action is taken by AFs
AFCP	Authority figure (Children’s Panel)
AFHealth	Authority figure (healthcare)
AFJud	Authority figure (Judge/Sheriff)
AFLaw	Statement about authoirty figure (lawyer)
AFPol	Statement about authoirty figure (police)
AFPris	Statement about authority figure - prison officer
AFPrisEd	Authority figure (Prison Education)
AFSocWork	Authority figure (social work)
AlcoholUseCom	Statement about alcohol use in the community
ASupport	Authority figures and support
ASupportComm	Support in the community
Brother	Statement about brother
Cell	Reference to cell (general)
ChPanExp	Description of experiences at Children’s Panels
ChPanExpNeg	Description of negative experience at CPs
ChPanMemInt	Description of Children’s Panel Member interaction
ComAvoidComm	Statement about avoiding interaction while out in the community
CommAvoidViol	Statement about attempting to deescalate a situation verbally only
CommBreakdown	Statement in response to CommBreakdown Q
CommChP	Statement about any changes to communication skills while at Polmont
CommGenDef	General definition of communication
CommGenDefEx	General definition of communication - examples
CommGoodDef	Good Communication – definition – features of good communication
CommGoodEx	Good Communication – example – from own experience or spontaneous
CommGoodImp	Statement about Good Communication – importance – benefits of communicating well
CommKnown	Statement associating successful communication with familiarity with comm partner(s)
CommOutside	Statement about using means to communicate with those outside prison
CommPoorDef	Poor communication – definition – features of poor communication
CommPoorEx	Poor communication – example – from own experience or spontaneous
CommPoorExCJS	Examples of consequence if poor comm skills in CJS
CommRat	Rating of self as communicator (num) or qualitative
CompAHealthRat	Rating (1-5) of comprehension of Healthcare staff
CompAJudRat	Rating of understanding of judges
CompALawRat	Rating of understanding of own lawyer
CompAPersOffRat	Rating (1-5) of comprehension of Personal Officer
CompAPolRat	Rating of understanding of police

CompAPrisRat	Rating 1-5 how well understand officers
ComReturn	Returning to community after being in prison
CourtUnd	Statement about understanding of court language/proceedings
EduAttP	Educational attainment while at Polmont
FamilyComm	Communicating with family
FamilyHis	Description of family history
Father	Statement about participant's father
FitIn	Statement about fitting in in prison environment
Girlf	Girlfriend
HealthPrisN	Description of views on prison health needs
HigherEdQual	Statement about qualifications achieved in Higher Education
InstitUnd	Reported degree of understanding of how institutions/procedures work
InteractMorePris	Statement describing need to interact more with others while in prison
InternetUse	Statement about using internet
LAAge	Age at which began LA exp
LADur	Duration of lookedafter experience
LAExp	Description of lookedafter experience
Maturity	Statement about view of own maturity
Mother	Statement about participant's mother
NarcoticUse	Description of use of narcotics in community
OInd	Reference to Index offence
OPrev	Statement about previous offences before index offences
OwnChild	Statement about own child/ren
PAdPrisJud	Judgements about peers and interactions in adult prisons cf YOI
PCommKnownPosPris	Statement about positive peer communication because they are known to each other
PersInterest	Hobbies/personal interests
PFCom	Statement about peers - Friends (community)
PFIntRule	Peers – friends – social rules of verbal interaction
PFJud	Peers – friends – judgement
PFPosInt	Peers – friends – reported positive feelings about a/general verbal interaction (eg friendly style, support, resolution of argument)
PFPris	Statement about Peers - Friends - prison
PFPrisArea	Statement about friends in prison from same area in community
PFSupport	Statement about supporting friends in prison
Phone	Statement about using phones to communicate
PhoneTxts	Statement about using phone for texting
PNFCom	Peers – Non-friend/s (community)
PNFJud	Peers – non-friends/others - judgement
PNFJudArg	Judgement about an argument with peers (non-friends/others)
PNFMotiv	Peers – non-friends/others - motivations
PNFNegInt	Peers – nonfriends – negative feelings about an interaction (e.g. mocking, threatening, teasing)
PNFPosInt	Statement about positive interaction with non-friends
PNFPris	Peers – Non-friend/s (prison)

PNFPrisArea	Statement about non-friends/others in prison from other areas
PNFRule	Peers – nonfriends – social rules of verbal interaction (eg loss of face, looking weak, looking vulnerable)
PNFViolAgPris	Peers – nonfriends – violence against - prison
PolAvoidCom	Statement about avoiding communication with police
PragRuleAware	Statement demonstrating awareness of pragmatic/politeness rules
PrisAct	Recreational activities while in prison
PrisAvoidComm	Statement describing choice to avoid interaction in prison
PrisBore	Boredom while in prison
PrisCommGen	General comment on the communication that goes on between people in the prison
PrisEdProg	Statement about Prison education programme/s
PrisGenView	Statement giving perspective on being imprisoned
PrisInteractN	General comment on interaction needs in Prison
PrisKeepOccup	Statement about keeping occupied while in prison
PrisPass	Statement about being on the pass
PrisSentCur	Discussion of current sentence
PrisSentLib	Discussion of liberation date/circumstances
PrisSentPast	Discussion of any past sentencing to prison
PrisSocGroup	Statement about own social group
PrisSocRule	Peer social rules of prison
PrivPris	Statement about maintaining a sense of privacy while in prison
PUndNeg	Peers – Friendship undefined or not relevant - Negative view
ReadChP	Reading – any change while at Polmont
ReadContent	Reading – preferred matter
ReadFreq	Reported reading frequency/habits
ReadGenre	Reading – preferred genre
ReadPoorExCJS	Examples of consequences of poor reading skills in CJS
ReadRat	Rating (num) or views on own ability
ReadView	Statement about any views on reading as an activity
Regret	Statement expressing regret at past actions
ReleaseDate	Release date from Prison
Remand	Reports is on Remand currently
Reputation	Statement about own social reputation
Respect	Originally ARespect = Statement about authority figures and respect; recoded to respect from all communication partners
SBeh	Statement/Judgement about self - behaviour
SchExp	General experiences of schooling
SchLeaveAge	Statement about Age left school (not excluded?)
SchNotAtt	Statement about not attending school
SchPermExcl	Statement about being permanently excluded from school
SchPermExclAge	Statement about age when permanently excluded from schooling
SchPermExclReason	Statement about reason for being permanently excluded from school
SchQual	Statement about Qualifications achieved at school
SchSubjNeg	Description of subjects disliked at school
SchSubjPos	Description of subjects enjoyed at school

SchTeachNeg	Description of negative experience with educators
SchTeachPos	Description of positive experience with educators
SchView	Reflection/view on schooling experience
SComm	Statement/Specific judgement about self – communication
SegActivity	Statement about activities in Dunedin
SegDescr	Statement about Dunedin environment
SegDurRecent	Duration of most recent move to Dunedin
SegExperience	Statement about emotional experience of being in Dunedin
SegNoTimes	Statement about how many times been placed in segregation
SegReasonRecent	Reason for most recent move to Dunedin
SEmot	Statement/Judgment about emotional state
SHealth	Statement/Judgement about self - health
SLang	Statement/judgement about self – expressive language
SLCNAware	Awareness of SLCN
SListen	Statement/judgement about self – listening
SLTExp	Statement on any reported SLT Experience
SModBeh	Statement about making a conscious choice to modify behaviour for own good
SocMediaUse	Statement about social media use
SocMediaView	Statement about views on social media
SpellRat	Rating of abilities in spelling
SpellView	Statement about any views on spelling (own)
SPers	Statement/Judgement about self - personality
SSpeech	Statement/Specific judgement about self - speech
StatEnhanced	Statement about being at Enhanced level
StatusBasic	Statement about being placed on basic status
StatusStandard	Statement about being placed on standard status
Television	Statement about television as activity
Trust	Statement pertaining to having trust in people
TypDayDesc	Description of typical day
VocabComp	Statement about comprehension of vocabulary - eg "big words"
WriteChP	Writing – any change while at Polmont
WriteContent	Statement about what forms of writing participant does
WritePoorExCJS	Examples of consequences of poor reading in CJS
WriteRat	Rating of abilities in writing (num or other)
WriteView	Statement about what forms of writing participant does

APPENDIX Q: INFORMAL JUSTICE VOCABULARY ASSESSMENT DEFINITIONS AND SOURCES

Number	Target item	Definition	Source
1	Defence	In a court of law, an accused person's defence is the process of presenting evidence in their favour. The defence is the case that is presented by a lawyer in a trial for the person who has been accused of a crime. You can also refer to this person's lawyers as the defence.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/defence
2	Prosecution	Prosecution is the action of charging someone with a crime and putting them on trial. The lawyers who try to prove that a person on trial is guilty are called the prosecution.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/prosecution
3	Procurator Fiscal	In the Scottish legal system, the procurator fiscal is a public official who puts people on trial.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/procurator-fiscal
4	Custody	A person is in custody when they are kept in prison, a young offenders' institution, or a police cell.	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=C
5	Supervision	Being under an order given by a judge as a sentence, or part of a sentence, saying that an offender must be monitored by a social worker on release from prison (adults) or on release from detention (youths).	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=S
6	Conviction	When a person has pled guilty, or been found guilty, of a crime in the past, it is called a conviction.	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=C
7	Offence	An offence is a breach of law, a crime.	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=O
8	Responsible	To be the cause of or to be blamed for a particular event or situation	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/responsible
9	Attend	If you attend [court], you are present at it.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/attend
10	Attack	to try to hurt or damage a person using physical violence.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/attack
11	Alleged	An alleged fact has been stated but has not been proved to be true.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/alleged
12	Statement	official account of events which a suspect or a witness gives to the police as a statement.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/statement

13	Guilty	A verdict that means it has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that the accused committed the crime or part of the crime. The judge then considers any sentence or punishment.	http://www.copfs.gov.uk/involved-in-a-case/glossary-of-legal-terms#N
14	Not Guilty	Verdicts that mean there was not enough evidence to prove the case beyond reasonable doubt, or there were other special reasons for not finding the accused guilty.	http://www.copfs.gov.uk/involved-in-a-case/glossary-of-legal-terms#N
15	Not Proven	Not proven has the same result as 'not guilty' which means the accused is acquitted and cleared of the offence.	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=V https://www.mygov.scot/criminal-court-case/verdicts/
16	Verdict	This is the decision reached at the end of a trial.	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=V
17	Appeal	<p>An appeal is when accused people who have been convicted of a crime and given a sentence, go back to court to challenge the conviction, the sentence, or both.</p> <p>Challenge to conviction and/or sentence. The prosecution can only appeal against an unduly lenient sentence.</p>	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=A http://www.copfs.gov.uk/involved-in-a-case/glossary-of-legal-terms#N
18	Bail	While accused are waiting for proceedings to be heard in court, they can either be held in custody (in prison, a young offenders' institution or police cell) or released on bail.	https://www.scottishsentencingcouncil.org.uk/about-sentencing/jargon-buster/?firstLetter=B
19	Adjourn	If a meeting or trial is adjourned or if it adjourns, it is stopped for a short time.	https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/adjourn

APPENDIX R: EXAMPLE OF REFLECTIVE JOURNAL ENTRY

Context: on this day (in early 2017) there were huge difficulties with meeting participants for interview and the researcher was experiencing a great degree of frustration. Three planned participant contacts had been cancelled or postponed, and a short reflection on the difficulties inherent in constantly attempting and failing to meet with participants was noted:

6/2/17 – Data Collection Day 9

The research project requires differing reasons for attendance than with general healthcare needs in some ways; if a healthcare need is non-urgent, we can leave the ball in their court to re-contact if necessary but can't really afford to do that for this project due to limited availability and time restrictions. Despite fewer people on this "potential caseload" (the potential participant list – DF), I can't just wait for them to get back in touch as this is very unlikely except in the case of David, who has a motivated and engaged parent, who not only contacted the health centre and researcher directly but also impressed on David himself the importance of participation in the project. [...] While there is a supportive infrastructure in place it [being a researcher in the healthcare unit] is very different to being on staff. Learning the structures, processes and strategies for maximising exposure to participants is neither easy nor necessarily predictable. [...]

Is there an element of exercising of power by participants when they refuse to meet up with me because they are still in bed, etc? Can it be seen this way? They are clearly exercising their own agency to be involved or not in the project but a couple of times an officer has advised me that Martin is not a "morning person", for example. Is this the PO making the decision for the participant to be involved rather than the participant themselves? Are they gatekeeping appropriately? I can hardly insist they bring him to the interview room. There isn't any way of moving ahead with this sort of situation without antagonising someone.

2.15pm: PO requested that I come back at 3.15pm as Martin was on recreation and had been fighting that morning. Again the PO is making the decision and the chain of command kicks in – the PO is the gatekeeper in meeting the participant and would obviously be wise to abide by what he suggests. It's an interesting dynamic, though; I have to abide by the ad-hoc decisions of Halls staff as it's important to keep them onside. Ask SLT – does she ever go against those advised decisions or is it best not to question that judgment of the POs?

**APPENDIX S: ARTICLE for SCOTTISH JOURNAL OF RESIDENTIAL CHILD CARE:
CLARK AND FITZSIMONS (2018)**

***Awareness of and support for speech, language and communication needs
in Children's Hearings***

Abstract: Looked-after children commonly experience speech, language and communication needs (SLCN) (McCool & Stevens, 2011; Department for Education, 2017). Unidentified and unmet SLCN have negative effects on children's educational attainment as well as social, emotional and mental health (Law, Rush, Parsons & Schoon, 2009). In Scotland, the institutional body with primary responsibility to address the needs of looked-after children is Children's Hearings Scotland (CHS). The focal means of decision-making is the Hearing. Previous FOI requests showed very few referrals from the Hearings to SLT services (Clark & Fitzsimons, 2016). Panel Members' and Children's Reporters' views on children's SLCN and on support for these needs in Hearings were gathered using an online questionnaire. 35 responses were received. Findings emphasised the importance of a child's individual needs. Many respondents had concerns over a child's communication during the Hearings process. SLTs rarely attend Hearings. Barriers to effective communication were seen to be intrinsic to the child, but also within the environment. The paper concludes that an increased role for SLTs within the Hearings System would be beneficial, both working directly with children to support their SLCN, and training and supporting decision makers in developing confidence to refer children to SLT services.

Introduction

In Scotland, primary responsibility for addressing the needs of children who have come to the attention of authorities as a result of offending behaviour, care/protection needs or both, is held by the unique care and justice system for children and young people, the Children's Hearings System. The Children's Hearings System works with a number of agencies to provide care and support, including social work, education services, NHS providers, Police Scotland, the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration and Children's Hearings Scotland.

The focal point of the Children's Hearings System is the Children's Panel. Children's Reporters, facilitated by the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration, receive an initial referral of concern which may come from a variety of community sources e.g. police, schools, parents or in some cases, the child themselves. In 2016-17, 15,118 children and young people were referred to the Children's Reporter (1.7% of Scotland's children and young people) (Scottish Children's Reporter Administration,

2017), the majority of referrals (75%) being from the Police (Scottish Children's Reporter Administration, 2017). The Reporter then decides whether grounds exist on which a Panel might place a child on a Compulsory Supervision Order from information gathered from relevant sources named above and/or the child and family. The Reporter then has the authority to require the Children's Panel to hold a Hearing. 34,106 Hearings took place in 2016-17 (Scottish Children's Reporter Administration, 2017). The Hearing is conducted in private. The Panel consists of three trained volunteer lay members. The Children's Reporter and other invited attendees are also present. The child is invited by statute but may not attend, often for safety/protection reasons. Parents/carers and the social worker commonly attend. The Hearing has a limited number of decisions at their disposal: to request more information and defer the Hearing before a decision is made on whether a supervision order is needed; to make a supervision order; or to decide that formal compulsory supervision is not necessary and to discharge the case.

Given its 45-year history, Scotland's Children's Hearings System has changed remarkably little. From its inception in 1971, its ethos has sought to place the child's needs and views at the centre of the decision-making process, within what is intended to be a fully participatory, transparent procedure (Kilbrandon, 1964). As is well documented, these needs are often heightened due to the child's life experiences. They may have suffered physical, emotional or sexual abuse, been neglected, may be involved with the justice system due to offending; need respite from a difficult family situation, or have complex disabilities that require specialist care. The onus is on the local authority to co-ordinate services to identify and meet these often multiple, continually developing needs.

Long term outcomes for looked-after children and young people

The higher risk of poorer short term and long term outcomes for children who have spent time in care is well documented. They are at significantly higher risk of poorer mental health outcomes (Office of National Statistics, 2004; Stanley, Riordan, & Alaszewski, 2005; Ford, Vostanis, Meltzer, & Goodman, 2007; Tarren-Sweeney, 2008), lower levels of academic attainment (Berridge, 2007; Scottish Executive, 2016), and at greater risk of social, emotional and behavioural disorder (Millward, Kennedy, Towlson, & Minnis, 2006; Ford et al, 2007; Sempik, Ward, & Darker, 2008) than the general population. The associations between looked-after status and these outcomes are clearly complex and placement instability, trauma, abuse, neglect and attachment issues are influencing factors in such outcomes. The wide-ranging negative effects of abuse and neglect on child development are beyond doubt.

Speech, Language and Communication Needs in Looked-After Children and Young People

Although the negative effects of maltreatment on language and communication abilities are well evidenced (Law & Conway, 1992; Veltman & Browne, 2001; Hwa-Froelich, 2012; Lum, Powell, Timms, & Snow, 2015), a far less investigated phenomenon is speech, language and communication needs (SLCN) of looked-after children and young people. This is concerning given that these are highly likely to be a mediating factor in poor short term and long term outcomes outlined above.

SLCN is the umbrella term used to describe the difficulties some children and young people have with listening, understanding and communicating with others. Children with SLCN may have difficulty with only one speech, language or communication skill or with several (Afasic, 2018). For some children, their difficulties may be 'mild and limited to particular situations' (Centre for Youth and Criminal Justice, 2017, p. 9), but, for many children with SLCN, their difficulties are 'persistent, pervasive and complex' (Centre for Youth and Criminal Justice, 2017, p. 9). Children with SLCN are likely to need support to develop the complex and numerous skills involved in communication. Each child also has unique strengths (Afasic, 2018).

Looked-after children with communication needs can have difficulty understanding what is being said to and asked of them. They can also have difficulty making themselves understood. Common difficulties include learning and using complex vocabulary, social communication skills, naming and managing emotions (including self-control), self-awareness, vocabulary, concepts related to time, working memory and the ability to retain, process, recall and sequence information. Communication needs are often hidden and older children in particular may have developed masking techniques for these needs. Some looked-after children communicate through behaviour that may result in offending (Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists, 2017).

In the US, Amster, Greis, and Silver (1997) found language delay in over 50% of over 200 children under 31 months in foster care. Hagaman, Trout, DeSalvo, Gehringer, and Epstein (2010) administered a language skills screen to 80 young people entering residential care, 54% of participants were at risk for language impairment. In the only study of SLCN in looked-after children in Scotland to date, McCool and Stevens (2011) investigated communication impairment in 30 young people in residential care, using a carer-administered questionnaire. Communication impairment was indicated in 19 of the 30, with eight profiles suggestive of Autistic Spectrum Disorder. In nine out of ten available case histories of those demonstrating impairment, no concerns had been raised regarding their communication; in the one remaining case, no referral to SLT had been made, despite recorded concerns.

South of the Border, a recently adopted, well-received, model in Yorkshire (No Wrong Door) which delivers an integrated health and social care service to looked-after children and young people, found that 58.4% of their charges had SLCN, with

the majority being previously unidentified (Department for Education, 2017). This indicates a sizeable over-representation of SLCN in this population compared to a rate of 10% in the overall child population (Norbury, Gooch, Wray, Baird, Charman, Simonoff, Vamvakas, & Pickles, 2016).

Both authors are Speech and Language Therapists and the second author has several years of experience as a Panel Member. We were therefore interested in the first instance to investigate integration between the Hearings System, social work and NHS Speech and Language Therapy services. Freedom of Information enquiries to all Scottish local authorities found there were very few referrals from the Hearings System particularly, and social work services more generally, to NHS SLT services (Clark & Fitzsimons, 2016).

Given the complex nature of the decision-making process, and a reliance on oral discussion as the main means of communication, this study aims to investigate the views of Panel Members and Children's Reporters on speech, language and communication needs of children attending Hearings. Specifically:

To explore perspectives on the communication skills a child needs to participate fully throughout the Hearings process.

To find out whether Panel members and Children's Reporters had had concerns about a child's communication during a Hearing.

To explore Panel Members' and Children's Reporters' knowledge of means to support children's communication in the Hearings system.

Within these aims, specific questions targeted the respondents' views.

Method

Ethical approval

Ethical approval was obtained from Queen Margaret University Ethics Committee, the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration and Children's Hearings Scotland.

Data collection

The first author attended by invitation a session of Hearings. An online survey was created and piloted with two Children's Reporters and one Panel Member. A revised survey was then placed by Children's Hearings Scotland and the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration on their respective intranet systems. The survey was also disseminated by the authors using Twitter and Facebook with permission from Children's Hearing Scotland and the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration. The survey was open from January to April 2017. All participants

were asked if they would be willing to take part in a follow-up phone discussion. Fifteen phone calls took place. This data is currently under analysis to be presented elsewhere.

Respondents

Twenty-one Panel Members (PMs) and 15 Children's Reporters (CRs) responded. One CR questionnaire was excluded, as information was incomplete, giving a total of 35 completed questionnaires.

Table 1 gives demographic data for all respondents. Six were aged 65+, eight between 55-64 years, nine between 45-54, eight between 35-44 and four between 25-34. None were between 18-24 years of age. Nine out of 21 PMs and 12 out of 14 CRs were women.

Numbers of Hearings the respondents had participated in varied widely. Overall CRs had attended more than PMs, with a range of 14-750 for PMs and 50-4500 for CRs. Individual data on which local authority the respondents were located in is not reported here to maintain confidentiality. A wide area of Scotland was represented, with the majority in the Central Belt of Scotland, as well as responses from Orkney and Shetland, the Western Isles, the Highlands, Fife, Tayside, Perth and Kinross, Argyll and Bute, and East Ayrshire.

Table 1 – Demographic details of Panel Members and Children’s Reporters respondents

Participant	Role	Age	Gender	Number of hearings attended
1	Panel Member	35-44	M	250
2	Panel Member	45-54	M	72
3	Panel Member	65+	M	750
4	Panel Member	65+	M	575
5	Panel Member	45-54	M	180
6	Panel Member	35-44	F	100+
7	Panel Member	65+	F	144
8	Panel Member	55-64	M	14
9	Panel Member	65+	M	150-200
10	Panel Member	45-54	M	120
11	Panel Member	45-54	F	30+
12	Panel Member	55-64	F	220
13	Panel Member	35-44	F	55
14	Panel Member	45-54	M	150
15	Panel Member	55-64	F	300
16	Panel Member	35-44	M	30+
17	Panel Member	65+	F	A lot
18	Panel Member	65+	M	Several hundred
19	Panel Member	55-64	F	30+
20	Panel Member	25-34	F	140
21	Panel Member	55-64	M	20
22	Children’s Reporter	-	M	Over 1000
23	Children’s Reporter	35-44	F	50
24	Children’s Reporter	54-45	F	Over 3000
25	Children’s Reporter	55-64	F	Approx 4500
26	Children’s Reporter	35-44	M	1600+
27	Children’s Reporter	25-34	F	1500
28	Children’s Reporter	55-64	F	100s
29	Children’s Reporter	25-34	F	500
30	Children’s	35-44	F	400+

	Reporter			
31	Children's Reporter	45-54	F	Approx 4300
32	Children's Reporter	45-54	F	1200-1600
33	Children's Reporter	35-44	F	100s
34	Children's Reporter	Excluded as information incomplete		
35	Children's Reporter	55-64	F	Over 500
36	Children's Reporter	25-34	F	500

Findings

Aim 1: To explore perspectives on the communication skills a child needs to participate fully throughout the Hearings process

Respondents were asked 'what are the speech, language and communication skills you think a child needs to participate effectively before, during and after the Hearing?'. The written, qualitative responses were analysed and coded using a thematic analysis approach (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2001). While the focus was on which communication skills a child needs to participate fully in the Hearings process, related issues arose within the responses. As these provided useful data, where appropriate, they are reported below. PMs' and CRs' responses are considered together as similar themes emerged from the two groups.

The primary skill needed was thought to be a child's ability to express him/herself, with all respondents recognising the importance of these skills at each stage of the Hearings process. Respondents used the following verbs to describe what skills a child needs: talk, explain, verbalise, speak, ask, take part [in conversation], express [themselves] and answer [questions]. Responses largely centred on the ways in which children could effectively make their views known; in these descriptions, children's views were not solely confined to getting across their material needs, but also discuss emotional expression and personal opinion, as the following quotes show:

'ability to talk and explain their wants/needs and their concerns. Ability to ask questions. Ability to [...] take part in a conversation';

'Ability to speak clearly and express their hopes and fears';

‘[...] to be able to answer questions openly and honestly’;

‘Having the relevant communication skills to articulate their feelings is important, and possibly to agree disagree with what is being said around/about them’.

A number of responses also mentioned ‘body language’ and ‘non-verbal communication’, with comments including ‘the child’s non-verbal communication is also noted by the Panel; listening, talking and body language’; and [I am] ‘always aware of their body language’.

Language comprehension skills were also recognised as crucial and were described variously as listening, understanding, being understood, following conversation, concentration skills, processing information and coping with ‘inputs’:

‘The ability to listen to and understand when an appropriate adult shares the information with them. The ability to listen or absorb information’;

‘After a Hearing it is important a child can understand the outcome, when it is explained to them in the terms relevant for their age/stage’;

‘Age appropriate understanding given age appropriate communication from adults’;

‘coping with multiple “inputs” ranging from professional to lay’.

A relatively small number of respondents (5 PMs, 3 CRs) mentioned literacy skills as an important contributing factor to participation. Those who discussed reading and writing focus on two main elements: use of the standard ‘All About Me’ form that may be filled out by a child to express their views on how they have been feeling, if they understand why they are attending a Hearing, if they have issues with their living situation, with school, or have any other issues they wish to discuss. This may be filled out either online or in written form. Secondly, respondents contribute views about the importance of reading abilities to understand background reports and other documentation.

An important theme not directly concerned with communication skills per se, concerned the child’s understanding of Hearings process and procedures, reasons for attendance and outcome of the Hearing. Many respondents were of the view that prior preparation and an appreciation of the reason for and purpose of the Hearing were important factors affecting the child’s successful participation, with several framing their responses in terms of the child’s age/development:

‘This is about a combination of the age and ability of the child coupled with how well they are prepared for a Hearing by the system which is attempting to support them’;

‘Depends on the age, but the ability to understand why they are there helps them to communicate effectively’;

‘They need to have an understanding (suitable to their age) of the purpose of the Hearing, i.e. that it is there to help them and make things better for them’;

‘Good language skills probably most important if need to understand what being told about the reports and follow proceedings of the Hearing’.

A further theme not questioned directly was confidence in a Hearing. This was seen as a key skill which was a high expectation of the child:

‘In terms of communication skills, in my experience it requires a child with a high degree of confidence to put forward their views in front of a group of strangers. This is rare’;

‘They need to be encouraged to speak to social work or school openly – which is a big ask for a child’;

‘The confidence to ask questions when they don’t understand’;

‘the confidence to speak to the panel, whether in front of the whole Hearing or by themselves’.

Aim 2: Whether Panel Members and Children’s Reporters had had concerns about a child’s communication during a Hearing.

Sixteen respondents had often had concerns about a child’s communication during a Hearing (8 PM, 8 CR) and a further fifteen (10 PM, 5 CR) had sometimes had concerns. One CR said they had always been concerned. Three PMs said they had rarely been concerned. The respondents were also asked if they would welcome further information about a child’s SLCN beforehand. Sixteen said always (9 PM, 7 CR), seven said often (4 PM, 3 CR), eleven sometimes (8 PM, 3 CR) and one said rarely (CR).

Aim 3: Panel Members’ and Children’s Reporters’ knowledge of means to support children’s communication in the Hearings

Respondents were asked whose primary responsibility it is to provide information before a Hearing on whether a child has an SLCN. The most common view was the social worker should do this (11 PM, 10 CR), followed by parents/carers (5 PM), Panel Members (2 PM), Children’s Reporters (1 PM) or the child’s school (1 CR). Three respondents said responsibility was shared by all involved with the child, including the family.

Two PMs had experience of an SLT being at a small number of Hearings (e.g. 4 or ‘occasionally’). One commented ‘no, it’s rare for ANY health professional to attend’.

Five CRs reported SLTs had attended Hearings in their experience. Again, comments reflect that this is unusual: ‘maybe 1% of Hearings’, ‘rarely, but supplied reports

when requested', 'yes – very rarely', 'yes – 10 Hearings', '4-5 Hearings', 'once', 'yes, although not directly supporting child – there as submitted report'.

Although this was not targeted directly, many respondents referred to the importance of support and advocacy for the child in the Hearing itself. There is an expectation that an adult should provide support for the child. While a social worker is favoured as the main adult to provide support, this was not the only view with 'safeguarder', 'advocate', 'an adult', 'class teacher', 'the family', and 'a trusted person' were also given as possible sources.

Respondents were asked what promotes good communication in a Hearing. Themes arising were getting the physical environment 'right' with child friendly seating, mutual respect and setting the 'right tone' at the start. One PM captured the recurring themes in saying:

'Relaxed friendly atmosphere. Panel Members speaking the appropriate level for the child. Avoid using complicated language or jargon. Showing an interest in and listening to the child. Being patient allowing the children to gather their thoughts and express them. Encourage and reassure the child. Explain yourself clearly to the child. Be non-judgemental. Stay calm.'

Barriers to good communication can be broadly grouped into two themes. The first of these was seen as the formality of the Hearing including seating arrangements, formal and 'difficult' language and too many adults being present. The second theme was around the high levels of anxiety and emotion for the child and the parents/carers before, during and after the Hearing.

Finally, when asked if they are aware that anyone can refer a child to the NHS SLT services, only 10 out of 35 said yes (5 PMs, 5 CRs).

Discussion

It is clear that some Panel Members and Children's Reporters have considerable insight into the communicative demands placed upon a child or young person before, during and after a Hearing. Responses often emphasise the child-centred ethos of the Children's Hearings System, the importance of ascertaining the child's views through a variety of methods and attempting to ensure that the child understands what is happening during what is very often a highly emotive experience for them.

Panel Members and Children's Reporters are physically present for only one stage of this process, the Hearing itself; their perspectives therefore reflect a view that is heavily skewed towards this setting but they also show an appreciation of the skills required in participating in every stage of the process. What is immediately apparent from the responses is the generally high level of expectation of the language competence of children who attend Hearings, particularly in terms of expressive and receptive language skills. In addition: the high level of demands on literacy in understanding the written documentation sent out to children and carers; understanding of the Hearing procedure — the reason for the Hearing, how it proceeds, and decisions reached; the importance of self-confidence in speaking up before, during and after the Hearing; and the significance of the presence of an adult to provide support and interpret events and decisions made by the Panel. One personal quality in particular — confidence to speak up before, during or after a Hearing — is also viewed as important and there was recognition of how challenging this is likely to be for a child.

Children's Hearing Scotland has emphasised the core importance of gaining the child's views in the decision-making process directly relating to their welfare. The Children (Scotland) Act 1995 aligned this approach more closely with the overarching principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), in particular Article 12, where a child 'who is capable of forming his or her own views' has 'the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child'. Article 12(2) goes on to state that not only does the child have this right, but his or her views must then be afforded consideration 'in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child' (UNICEF, 1989). Most recently, the Children's Hearings (Scotland) Act 2011 has specified that the Hearing must:

so far as practicable and taking account of the age and maturity of the child —

- (a) give the child an opportunity to indicate whether the child wishes to express the child's views,
- (b) if the child wishes to do so, give the child an opportunity to express them, and
- (c) have regard to any views expressed by the child.

Griffiths and Kandel (2000) outline the difficult situations reported by children and young people in the Hearings System that may be seen as arising from the often conversational, semi-informal approach taken. Factors such as i) disagreement with a pre-established narrative without becoming confrontational; ii) anxiety/fear about consequences of the Hearing as an inhibiting factor; iii) conflicting loyalties within the Hearing room; iv) sociolinguistic aspects of panel member communication, e.g. accent, use of 'posh' vocabulary and social distance are seen as not only affecting the child or young person's communication in the present, within the room, but also the impression given to Panel Members of that child's willingness to engage or comply with an order. These factors are daunting enough for any child; for a child with an unsupported language or communication disorder, this presents circumstances in which a child's welfare will inevitably be compromised by the Hearings process itself.

In this context, one highly striking feature of the responses is therefore how rarely, if at all, respondents cited pragmatic abilities (e.g. use of narrative skills, evidence of successful codeswitching behaviours, turn-taking, topic introduction and maintenance, facial expression, eye contact) as required skills for effective participation. It is, of course, unrealistic to expect PMs and CRs to use the term 'pragmatic skills', but the absence within the responses of any iteration or description of these skills is striking, and highlights an apparent tension between ethos and practice in the Hearing room, where the discussion is framed as informal, but is often led by the Panel. These are skills that are necessary for meaningful participation in discussions that take place in the room. It could be argued that the ethos of the Hearings System — placing the child at the centre by means of an informal discussion — lends itself to opportunities to exercise these abilities, as they form the backbone of effective and participatory discussion. It is essential that PMs and CRs are trained to recognise and support these particular linguistic skills of children as it is incumbent upon them to safeguard and promote each child's welfare in any decision and in the decision-making process itself.

While written and oral, face-to-face communication take precedence in responses, there is a significant absence of discussion of the ways in which Children's Hearings Scotland and the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration has made significant moves to present relevant information about Hearings to children in a greater variety of modes beyond those mentioned. Online videos and appropriately designed separate All About Me forms for children and young people are featured on the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration website; leaflets about a range of topics, such as attending Hearings, describing the rights of a young person and defining a Compulsory Supervision Order, are available to download. The level of written language in the 'All About Me' form (Scottish Children's Reporter Administration, 2017) is still worryingly high, with lengthy, multi-clausal sentences, and abstract vocabulary: for example 'right' being used, as in: 'You have the right to bring someone along with you to your Hearing to help and support you'. This level

of language would be very difficult, if not impossible, for a child with speech, language and communication needs to understand. This difficulty itself would likely lead to increased anxiety and/or frustration for the child before the Hearing itself.

The move to increase participation further — before, during and after the Hearing — contained within the recent Digital Strategy for the Children's Hearings System (Scottish Children's Reporter Administration, 2016), is very welcome. The Strategy aims to achieve greater participation through increased use of electronic means of communication and to extend its existing online presence. Proposed additions include an online introduction that allows a walk-through of the Hearings process, opportunities for children and carers to view Panel Member biographies and chat online to a Reporter. In addition, use of video statements as an alternative or to augment traditional 'All About Me' written forms, and use of videoconferencing software rather than the demand for the physical presence of child and carer, have been proposed. Opportunities for greater use of alternative means of communication such as easy-read documentation and visual support, however, are not detailed within the strategy, and would be welcomed. Care should be taken to ensure both the grammar and vocabulary in new resources are age and developmentally appropriate for the children using them. Speech and Language Therapists are the professionals with the specific expertise to support these developments.

There is a clear need for urgent action on the following issues: a thorough and more robust evidence base must be developed that examines further the intersection points between looked-after children and young people and their SLCN to better serve their welfare in the decision-making process; to improve the training of Panel Members and Children's Reporters in order to ensure that the SLCN of these vulnerable children and young people are identified and met in the decision-making process more effectively than at present; the routine inclusion of a Speech and Language Therapist to support a child with SLCN in the Hearings System; creation of greater opportunities outside the Hearing room for looked-after children and young people to participate in the decisions made about their welfare in a communication environment appropriately supportive of their needs.

At a local level of service integration, the study has implications for those working directly with the children and families. It is better to err on the side of caution and assume a child will need support with their communication, rather than assume they will not. As one Panel Member commented, 'Every child probably has a speech, language and communication need'.

The Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists has a professional duty to raise awareness of the open referral system operated by NHS SLT services. SLTs should work with social work and child and youth care workers in supporting them to feel more secure in making a referral to NHS SLT services if they are concerned about a child's communication, and themselves supporting parents to do likewise. The Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists (2017) recommends that the

team supporting looked-after children has access to specially commissioned speech and language therapy services. This should enable children and young people to be screened for communication needs when they enter care, including referral to speech and language therapy services for a full assessment where the screen has identified this as necessary to support differential diagnosis. The second recommendation is for training: those working with, caring for, and supporting looked-after children should be trained in awareness of speech, language and communication needs and how to respond to them so that the places where they spend most of their time, school and home, are able to meet their needs (Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists, 2017). Training would also help support those working directly with the children and young people in preparing for hearings, for example, in identifying communication support strategies which are helpful for them. SLCN training should also be integrated into the nationwide advocacy service for Children's Hearings which is intended to be operational by 2019. If an advocate 'might go to a hearing with a child or young person to support them and to help them express their views' (Scottish Executive, 2012), it is essential advocates have a secure knowledge of SLCN and how to support these. Training is likely to be most effective if delivered by Speech and Language Therapists at two points: firstly in initial training/undergraduate education for those involved in working directly with children and young people participating in Hearings; secondly, as part of their continuing professional development requirements. The third recommendation (Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists, 2017) is that SLTs should provide direct support for looked-after children with a SLCN. This should take place before, during and after Hearings in order to ensure their welfare is served throughout the Hearings process.

Lastly, it is important to bear in mind that there is a high likelihood that parents and siblings of looked-after children may have SLCN of their own and that these needs may be unidentified and therefore unmet, as outlined in the Royal College of Speech and Language Therapists' (2016) Intergenerational Cycle of Speech, Language and Communication, Outcomes and Risks. They are therefore likely to require support themselves, in their daily lives and in specific situations, for example, when a parent attends a Hearing.

The study has a number of limitations. Firstly, although the number of Panels the PMs and CRs had participated in was relatively large, the number of respondents was small. While there are around 2,500 Panel Members currently active in Scotland (Children's Hearings Scotland, 2017), and 120 Children's Reporters (Scottish Children's Reporter Administration, 2017), the study captures the views of a small proportion of these groups. Children's Hearings Scotland advised that Panel Members were often asked to take part in research and so requests for participation were disseminated at an appropriate frequency to accommodate this.

Given the highly qualitative nature of the study and the difficulties with access to larger groups, further planned research in this area will utilise an initial questionnaire and subsequent focus group approach in order to provide further

opportunities for greater elaboration on key issues by Panel Members and Children's Reporters.

Further investigation of this topic should involve other key decision makers within the Hearings System to reflect other professionals' involvement in the different stages of the process: the views of social workers on the communication needs of the children and families they work with should be sought. The views of the children and young people themselves should also be sought. At the time of this study, the authors distributed a questionnaire to children and young people in care via social media and also through the Centre for Youth and Criminal Justice. As no responses were received, it may be that a multi-agency approach would prove more successful in gathering the views of children and young people in the future. Evaluation of support in place for SLCN of children and young people and their parents before, during and after Hearings would inform future practice.

Conclusion

Panel Members and Children's Reporters have concerns over the speech, language and communication needs of children they work with in Hearings. It is essential that such children's welfare is safeguarded in a meaningful way during Hearings. We must go beyond the minimum requirements set out in the Children's Hearings (Scotland) Act (2011) (UK Government, 2011) in order to fully enable the child to participate in a full, effective and high quality manner. A strengthened role for Speech and Language Therapists in the Hearings System is vital; firstly, working directly with the children themselves, ensuring timely identification, assessment and management of speech, language and communication needs, and secondly, providing SLT profession-specific training and support to Panel Members, Children's Reporters, social workers and advocates to enable them to identify where there is concern over a child's communication and be secure in referring the child to Speech and Language Therapy services.

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